

# The Agamemnon of Aeschylus



ARTHUR WOOLLGAR VERRALL, AESCHYLUS



ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

THE 'AGAMEMNON  
OF  
AESCHYLUS

WITH AN  
INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, AND  
TRANSLATION

BY

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TO

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REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.



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## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THIS edition of the *Agamemnon* is the second instalment of that edition of Aeschylus which I hope to complete in course of time. The present volume has occupied me for many years, having been commenced long before my edition of the *Septem*, and frequently re-written, as I gained more knowledge of the poet.

No one competent to undertake such a work can flatter himself much upon the little that he can possibly have achieved in comparison with the desirable ideal. It is not likely that, as long as there is any spirit of progress, there will ever be a final edition of Aeschylus. Certainly we are far enough from such a consummation at present. But with all the defects which I see, and the many which doubtless I do not see, I trust that this book is not unworthy of the place in which it has been written and of the great living scholars by whose teaching and encouragement it has been inspired.

Where my version merely follows tradition, the commentary is for the most part silent or brief; and in this sense only I may say that the bulk of it is the product of my own work. But indeed I have the less hesitation in saying so, as I fear that the bulk of it is not a merit.

The English editions of Paley, Kennedy, and Mr A. Sidgwick have been by me throughout; Enger's I have consulted often. Dr Wecklein's interesting and useful edition of the *Orestea* with notes (1889) appeared when this was in the press. This will, I hope, explain anything that may seem obscure in the

relations of the two. All will know the difficulty of dealing satisfactorily with such a case. I should explain that where 'Wecklein's Appendix' is referred to on critical questions, the reference is to the edition of the text with *apparatus criticus* only (1885).

Since the appearance of my former volume Kennedy, Paley, and J. F. Davies have died, honoured and regretted, as I need scarcely say, by me as by all students of literature. To Paley in particular, whatever may have been said or thought of his defects, I shall always profess myself deeply indebted. It was easy to disagree with him and to see the weak points of his scholarship. But few men have done more for the spread of learning and literature in this country. He sent me a few days before he died a vigorous letter of adverse criticism. Most mournfully do I feel that I shall never receive another.

Beyond the editions of the play (my relations to which in general will appear from the several references) the writings most useful to me have been the editions of Sophocles by Professor Jebb (who has permitted me to express my admiration and gratitude by the dedication of this volume), the *Homeric Grammar* of Mr D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and an excellent article on the *Agamemnon* by Mr A. E. Housman in Vol. XVI. of the *Journal of Philology*.

It is not easy to enumerate accurately the friends who have assisted me at various times by conversation and otherwise. But for particular suggestions my thanks are due to Mr R. A. Neil, who was kind enough to revise the whole of the Introduction, to Dr W. Leaf, Mr J. G. Frazer, Mr E. S. Thompson, Mr Wyse, Mr Duff, and Mr H. B. Smith. I have also taken some particular hints from Professor Mahaffy's books on the geography and customs of Greece and from a dissertation on the *Parodos* of the *Seven against Thebes* recently published by Dr Fennell. Other references will appear in their places.

Continual study strengthens my conviction on one not unimportant point in relation to Aeschylus, the substantial integrity of the text. The greater part of what are called errors



of the MS. are merely normal variations of spelling, not affecting the authority of the tradition in the slightest degree. The errors properly so called are often such that their reproduction through long periods, from the time when by their nature they must have originated, bears speaking testimony to the conservative care of those by whom the text was handed down. Although this edition adheres more closely to the MSS. than its predecessors in modern times, my revision, were I to revise it now, would tend rather to closer adhesion than the other way.

Indeed the men who preserved Aeschylus through the long night of literature were protected as much by their defects as by their merits from tampering with the words. They were scholars, as can be proved out of their own mouths, of the narrowest type. In old words, old forms, and the like they were keenly interested. For the poet they did not care. Of the *Agamemnon* the MS. Introduction speaks with a reserve barely saved from disapprobation. And no wonder; for the editors had not read the play, as literature, at all. This is the simple fact. To a reader who wished to understand a drama, as well as make notes of the words in it, no point could be so essential as the fixing and distribution of the parts. The Byzantine scholars were entirely indifferent to the matter. If a modern editor were to adopt the *dramatis personae* of the Medicean manuscript, he would justly be thought a fool. Nor were the Greek commentators unaware that their scheme was dubious; but they would not be at any trouble about a thing of so little consequence to grammar and lexicography. The corrector of the *Mediceus* assigned the speech beginning ἦκω σεβίζων (v. 270) to a certain ἄγγελος of his own invention, perceiving that in the scene which follows there was some difficulty in finding speakers for all the speeches. To this ἄγγελος, as appears from the later copies, he assigned among other things the speech γύναι, κατ' ἄνδρα (v. 363), while to Clytaemnestra he gave τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα (v. 494). Now nothing is more certain than that

all these speeches are spoken, as all modern editors print them, by members of the Chorus, and that at *v* 494 Clytaemnestra is not even on the stage<sup>1</sup>, and further that no one could have read the play with any consecutive attention from the beginning to this point without discovering these facts. But the Greek editor was looking for glosses, and having once ascertained the correctness of his copy (a work on which he can be proved to have spent very great pains), would not interrupt the true labour of scholarship for a question so trivial as the name of a particular speaker.

Consequently, so far as relates to the literary form and purpose of the drama, the makers of our MSS. bequeathed to their modern successors no more than the vague indication of a problem. In the Introduction our first concern will be with this problem, its nature and the material for a solution.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
27 September, 1889.

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The present edition is in the main a reproduction of the first, corrected, I hope, and improved in many particulars by the criticisms of others and my own studies.

The translation, which in the former edition was printed separately at the end of the volume, is now placed opposite to the text. This arrangement will be adopted in the *Eumenides* (which is ready for the press) and in any other volumes of the series which I may be able to complete.

The commentary has been made briefer, and for this purpose questions of small importance have been sometimes suppressed, where my opinion, so far as I have one, has not changed.

Appendix III., dealing with certain ancient evidence, which I think important, respecting the *dramatis personae* and distribution of the play, is reproduced (with permission) from an article in the *Classical Review*.

<sup>1</sup> See however note there, 1903.



In the text, the printing of letters in an uncial type different from the rest is used, as in my edition of the *Choephori*, to mark what depends upon conjecture.

In the notes, the use of type does not profess to be consistent. Excerpts from the text adopted are generally distinguished by black type, but so also are conjectural readings, though not adopted, if for any reason they require special notice.

Not a few interesting observations on the play have appeared since this volume was so far advanced in printing, that notice of them, even inadequate, has been introduced with difficulty. Beyond the obligations expressly acknowledged I have received much help in details from friends and correspondents.

The final revision of the book has been done under some special hindrances and, I fear, imperfectly. For such exactness as may be attained the credit is due chiefly to the staff of the Cambridge University Press, who have given me, on this as on other occasions, all possible assistance.

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*October 10, 1903.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

### 1. *The Problem.*

WHAT is the plot of the *Agamemnon*? When the dramatist began his work, what was the story which he proposed to tell, or rather—the difference of phrase is not unimportant—which he proposed to illustrate?

To one familiar only with drama produced under modern conditions, it might well seem strange that this question should be propounded at all. Surely, it might be said, this ought to be a simple matter, to be settled at the first reading. If a drama does not convey its own story, entire and unmistakable, what does it convey? So we might argue, naturally enough, from the conditions of the theatre as we know them in modern times. but so would not argue those who have given much reflexion to the theatre of Athens, and especially of Aeschylus. Every one knows, even if the full significance of the fact is not always sufficiently estimated, that the tragedians of Athens did not tell their story at all, as the telling of a story is conceived by a modern dramatist, whose audience, when the curtain goes up, know nothing which is not in the play-bill.

The story of an Athenian tragedy is never completely told; it is implied, or, to repeat the expression used above, it is illustrated by a selected scene or scenes. And the further we go back the truer this is. Some of the plays of Euripides, such as the *Hippolytus*, are sufficiently complete in statement to be understood perhaps wholly without external aid; and Sophocles fills in his outline more than Aeschylus. Such was the natural result of altered circumstances, of that multiplication of literature and growth of literary education which was the chief characteristic of the fifth century. Before the close of the century the process had so rapidly advanced that literature was a

common occupation, and Athens was full of lads writing, as Aristophanes says, 'tragedies by the thousand.' On the other hand, at the commencement of the century writers were not many, and a literary public scarcely existed at all. One necessary effect of this movement, which took place chiefly in the second half of the period, was to multiply enormously the current varieties of the popular tales; until at last the Athenian playwright was brought, with respect to the foreknowledge of his story by the audience, nearly to the situation of the modern playwright, and found it convenient, if not to tell the whole of it, at least to mark in outline the version of it from which he started. But the original practice, dating from the time when the legends current at one time and in the same city were still fairly harmonious, was to presuppose the story as known, and as a fact there is perhaps not one play of Aeschylus or of Sophocles which would not puzzle a reader who should sit down to it, as to a drama of to-day, having no information on the subject, and expecting everything essential to be supplied by the author.

For a play of Aeschylus then the question, What is the story?, so far from being frivolous, is of the first importance; and so far from being necessarily easy, it is almost certain to offer some difficulties, and might very well prove unanswerable. To reconstruct stories in the exact form which prevailed at Athens in the days of Aeschylus, from the indications afforded by plays presupposing the stories, and from the indirect and ambiguous evidence of such other versions of the same legends as may be more or less perfectly preserved to us, is a task requiring the greatest care. It is not likely ever to be accomplished with all the success that might be wished, and is so far from accomplishment as yet, that in nothing which relates to the study of the poet is there left more room for improvement. We are now to enquire how the matter stands at present with regard to the story of the *Agamemnon*.

The reader who gradually becomes familiar with successive commentaries upon this play, will gradually become aware that they agree with one another in one remarkable peculiarity. As a rule, the first duty performed in the introduction to a drama is to give an accurate and straightforward account of the story. No edition known to me ventures to tell without disguise the story of the *Agamemnon*. I do not of course mean merely that the story told is not correct. This would be to assume the very point we are to discuss. I mean that the story, as it is commonly understood, is itself not told without concealment and practical misrepresentation. The reason for this will be only too apparent, when we have supplied the omission by telling the story

outright, as it was conceived by the Byzantine students of the eleventh century and is still, with whatever dissatisfaction, accepted.

Aegamemnon, king of Argos, having sailed with a great armament to Troy, to avenge by the capture of the city the abduction of Helen, arranged with his queen Clytaemnestra<sup>1</sup>, who governed at home in his absence, to transmit the news of his success, when it should be attained, by a series of beacons extending over the whole distance. At what time this arrangement was first made does not appear; but when after a war of ten years the city was taken, the beacons had been maintained, we learn, for at least a year. The chief part of the service, the transmitting of the message across the Aegæan Sea, was accomplished by beacons established on Mount Ida in the Troad, on Lemnos, on Mount Athos, and on the highest point of Euboea. Thence the news was to be signalled by comparatively short stages to Mount Arachnaeus, within a few miles of the royal fortress and visible from the palace, where a watch was nightly kept for the expected news. Accordingly on the night in which Troy was captured the system was put in operation, and worked so successfully that before morning the beacon upon Arachnaeus was duly seen by the palace-watch (At this moment the action of the play commences.) The queen, being roused, at once sends out her commands for general rejoicing without however disclosing either the receipt of the beacon-message or the purport of it, as appears from the fact that the elders of the state, who presently arrive before the palace to make enquiries, are not only ignorant of the event announced, but are still uncertain whether the nocturnal demonstration (for the fires of sacrifice are seen blazing in all directions) is made in honour of some good intelligence or not. After some time, and just upon daybreak (v. 291), the queen presents herself, and the elders respectfully ask whether it is her pleasure to enlighten them further.

The queen then informs them that Troy is actually taken. After a few moments of joyful amazement, their next question is, 'When did this happen?' 'This very night.' 'But how could the news possibly

<sup>1</sup> Aeschylus knew her as Κλυταιμῆστρα *Clytaemestra*—for I agree with those who hold that we have no reason to dispute the testimony of the Medicean MS. But she must remain *Clytaemnestra* for us.

<sup>2</sup> I have tried throughout so to speak of these 'elders' as to avoid the not very profitable dispute, whether they are to be regarded as councillors, a political

γερονσία. It seems to me equally clear on the one hand that their character and behaviour would suggest such an idea to an audience imbued with Greek politics, and that on the other hand Aeschylus intentionally avoided precision on this and all points respecting the constitution of an imaginary state in the heroic times.

arrive so soon?' 'By a beacon-message,' replies the queen, and acquaints them with the arrangements above described, at which the elders are more astonished than ever. The queen makes some reflexions upon the appearance which Troy must present this morning after the ravages of the night, and expresses a hope that the victors will not abuse their triumph in such a way as to court divine punishment and so endanger their safe return. She then retires, leaving the elders to their thoughts.

But the stern satisfaction, which at first they feel for the punishment of the offending Trojans, soon passes away, as they consider the suffering which the war has cost and the deep discontents which it has bred; and they have already sunk again into melancholy and foreboding when the question arises—Is the news true after all? How doubtful is the interpretation of a beacon! How sanguine the imagination of an excited woman! The whole story may well prove to be a mere delusion. It will be best to wait.

They are in this frame of mind when they see approaching a herald, from whose appearance and from other visible indications (for the sun has now risen, *v.* 513) they at once perceive that he has come from the port and brings great tidings. Something grave then has really happened, and they will know in a few moments whether it is good, or what it is.

The herald—if it were possible to suppose the reader of this book absolutely ignorant of the play, I am certain that what I am now going to write would be set down by him as a manifestly absurd mistake or invention of mine—the herald enters and announces *that Agamemnon has arrived.*

But this staggering surprise is nothing to the miracles which remain. The conversation of the herald with the elders—if that can be called a conversation, in which the herald, almost beside himself with excitement and joy, speaks nearly all the time—is terminated by the brief reappearance of the queen, who bids the herald return with a message of welcome to his master. The elders beg him before he goes to satisfy them at least as to the safety of the king's brother, Menelaus. This leads him to disclose that the Greek fleet (which, be it remembered, must have traversed the whole Aegæan in a few hours at most) *encountered on the way a tremendous storm* and was thereby so completely scattered that those on Agamemnon's ship, which escaped destruction, know not even which, if any, of their companions are saved. And with this the herald departs on his errand. The elders, under the weight of this terrible and truly inconceivable disaster, not unnaturally forget for



the moment to rejoice over the return of the remnant, and are still musing sadly upon the terrible and far-reaching consequences of the war and of the offence which caused the war, when the king himself appears to receive their welcome and that of the queen.

And now, it will be supposed, some light will be thrown upon the facts. The story up to this point presents nothing but an inexplicable contradiction. But ~~when Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra meet, all will of course in some way become clear.~~ Nothing of the sort. Though the rejoicings shortly before commanded by Clytaemnestra are still proceeding, and the sacrifices which were to be offered in the palace in honour of the beacon-message are scarcely begun, the queen, coming forth from the unfinished ceremony, addresses to the king a long and high-flown oration, in which there is not the slightest allusion to the events of the morning, nor a word from which it could be supposed that intelligence of the triumph had preceded the king's arrival. Agamemnon, in his cold and brief reply, is equally silent on the subject. That affectionate anxiety for the queen's peace of mind, which we should naturally conjecture to have been his motive, as there is no other apparent, for maintaining such a prodigious machinery of communication and transport, has suddenly given way to a repulsive staidness. He rebukes severely the pomp of his reception, and there ensues an altercation on this matter between the royal spouses, in which the queen carries her point, and conducts her husband with triumph into the palace, leaving the elders in a puzzled and apprehensive condition of mind, with which the audience must certainly sympathize.

Thus ends the first part or act of the play, which occupies, we may observe, considerably more than half of it. In the tragic scenes or, to speak more properly, in the tragedy, which now commences, the whole of this vast and enigmatic prologue, except certain incidental narratives external to the main subject of it, seems to be simply forgotten. Nothing happens which might not have happened just as easily if the king had returned unannounced, or if he had announced himself in some ordinary manner, and followed his announcement after the expected interval of time. What is dark now remains so, if we accept the received interpretation, to the end of the play. Since therefore the remarkable action of the first part has no particular bearing upon that of the second, and its value in the estimation of the dramatist must be supposed independent, it will be convenient to pause at this point and to consider what that value may be.

And surely the first and most proper reflection is this:—Is it possible that the story above told really represents the intention of Aeschylus?

that a man, who had spent most of his life in writing plays, when he came to lay down the lines of his supreme masterpiece, should encumber himself at starting with absurdities so glaring, so dangerous, and so gratuitous, as this fable exhibits in all its parts? Let us look at it for a moment from these three points of view.

And first, that the absurdities are conspicuous. If we assume, for the sake of argument, that it was indifferent to Aeschylus and the Athenian audience whether the story told was conceivable or not, we may still wonder why the poet should so labour to be false. The first 'act' of the *Agamemnon* is constructed exactly as it would be, if designed to show the monstrosities of it in the strongest light. It is one huge contradiction. It is divided by a crisis, the entrance of the herald (v. 508), into two nearly equal parts, the substance of which may be summarised by the statements, (1) that from the fall of Troy to the commencement of the play is a period of two or three hours, (2) that in this interval have occurred the events of several weeks. About this there is not and cannot be any difference of opinion. It is certain, in the first place, that the action is continuous, and falls within the early hours of one morning. Language could not be clearer than that which shows us that the herald arrives while the beacon-message is still in process of becoming known (vv. 481—498)<sup>1</sup>. Even the progress of the hour from darkness to daylight is duly noted, as we have seen. But it is needless to labour the point. Had it been possible to suppose the action divided (as in the *Eumenides*<sup>2</sup>), or to assume anywhere a long lapse of time (as in the *Suppliants* of Euripides), the modern readers of the poet, who, as we shall see, are painfully conscious of the puzzle, would have marked the interval long ago. And yet, on the other hand, look at the necessities of the situation, as they are thrust upon our notice by Aeschylus himself. That on the morning after the sack of Troy the weary and famished Greeks would be making the most of their comfortless repose, and be in no condition to think of anything else, is obviously true. But if Aeschylus proposed to bring them that very morning to Argos, why should he insist on reminding us, before their appearance, that they must at this very moment be in Troy,

<sup>1</sup> See also vv. 1040 foll.

<sup>2</sup> The example of the *Eumenides* is indeed sometimes cited, as if it explained and justified what would otherwise be surprising in the construction of the *Agamemnon*. There is no resemblance between them. The *Eumenides* is simply

divided, like a play of Shakespeare, into three scenes, confessedly separated by gaps of time and changes of place. If the *Agamemnon* were similarly divisible, there would be nothing peculiar about it. See further an Essay on 'The Unity of Time', in my edition of Euripides' *Ion*.

hundreds of miles across the sea, taking their hard-won meal and looking forward to enjoy next night their first unbroken sleep (*v.* 342)? And the very next speech informs us that they are already returned to Argos! Even a happy carelessness might have been expected not to give itself the lie with so much art. Again, the size and general geography of the Archipelago were facts as familiar to an Athenian as those of the Atlantic or the Channel to a modern Englishman, indeed much more so; and he could scarcely, however willing, have imagined them other than they were. But if Aeschylus desired to present a story in which these facts were to be ignored, why should he aggravate his difficulties by prompting the imagination of the audience with a picture of the reality? The conversation between Clytaemnestra and the elders respecting the beacons signifies to us at any rate this, that a voyage over the region described was likely to take some time. A narrator who wished us, for the sake of his story, to suppose that some-one had ridden from London to York in an hour, would scarcely begin by reminding us that it takes four hours to go by train.

Then look again at the other side of the picture. To what purpose, in any case, the poet introduced the herald, with his vivid description of the hardships suffered by the Hellenic army and of the awful tempest in which the greater part of it was finally lost, or what is the significance of these narratives to the story, is at present not too clear, as may be seen by reference to the books of authority. But nothing short of a contradiction in terms could be more grossly inconsistent with the preceding scene. If Aeschylus wished to obliterate, by an arbitrary fiction, the interval of time between the fall of Troy and the return of the Greeks, why does he *not* obliterate it? Why narrate the voyage and show that it was not rapid but disastrous? that it was not accomplished in one hour, nor in one day either? that after the capture, and before the return was even commenced, a considerable time was spent at Troy itself in the elaborate destruction of the city, the distribution of the spoil and captives, and other proceedings related or touched upon by the herald and the king? Of these indeed the audience were previously informed by many familiar narratives, but in the design attributed to Aeschylus they might at least have been left in all possible obscurity. Who could listen to the herald's description of the storm, following as it does close upon Clytaemnestra's account of the beacons, and not ask himself in bewilderment at what time all this is supposed to have happened?

This discrepancy of times, not lightly neglected by the poet but studiously obtruded, would, if it stood alone, make the first part of the

*Agamemnon* a confounding problem. But it is combined with another mass of difficulty, less prominent perhaps to the eyes of us moderns, but at Athens and in the time of Aeschylus equally fatal to that temporary and conventional belief without which the imagination is helpless. The story of the beacons is in one sense a fine story, that is to say, it is told in fine verse, and the actual description, how the fiery signal was sped, is unsurpassed or unrivalled in its own style of eloquence. But for all that the story is in its whole conception and all its incidents incredible, and it is impossible that a popular audience in ancient Athens can ever have thought otherwise.

In the first place, looking at the matter generally, it is permissible, when we reflect that the *Agamemnon* was written by a grave man of long experience in peace and war, and to satisfy an audience which contained perhaps more men personally familiar with the conduct of great affairs than ever assembled elsewhere—it is permissible, I say, to wonder, that so much should be made of a transaction which, for any relation it has to life, is more worthy of an inventive schoolboy. Here is a great monarch, conducting a distant war of uncertain duration. He establishes between his camp and his capital a system of communication on a grand scale, far larger than anything of the kind actually existing, when Aeschylus wrote, in the Greek world<sup>1</sup>. For what purpose? Naturally, we suppose, to aid his plans. Not at all. At the close of the war, as the ignorance of the elders requires us to suppose, no message had ever been sent, and no message but one was expected. The beacons were maintained and watched, night after night, simply that, if and when Troy should fall, this news, expected for ten years, might have a chance, if the weather were favourable, to reach Argos some weeks or some days sooner than it would do in any case. And as if this notion were not puerile enough, the natural facts are distorted so as to exaggerate the absurdity to the utmost. For in the result it seems to be by the merest accident that the beacon-message arrives before the king. But for the storm he would doubtless have got home first.

Again, if we admit the beacons as a conceivable scheme, what are we to say of the useless and impossible mystery with which they are surrounded? The Athenians were to suppose, that for a year at least there had been maintained on a hill close to Argos, night after night, a beacon forming part of a system of communication with the absent army, and that all this while, so strictly had the secret been kept, the

<sup>1</sup> The generals of Persia were supposed to have projected something similar, though more practicable, at the time of

their marvellous expedition (Herod. 9, 3). It does not appear how far they succeeded.



elders of the city had not the least notion of it, nor had ever dreamed of such a thing as possible !

But these general objections, though serious enough, are nothing to the grotesque and wilful violations of nature which appear in the details. It is here that the modern reader most easily deceives himself, forgetting the local and contemporary point of view. No one disputes indeed, so far as I am aware, that the story told by Clytaemnestra is impossible, but most of those who write on the play ignore the subject so far as they can<sup>1</sup>. and hardly any one considers how the matter would look to an Athenian of the Marathonian generation. Yet place and time are the essential conditions.

Men are the willing slaves of imagination ; and the inventor who frankly transcends our range of experience may with moderate skill carry us wherever he pleases. But so long as he purports to keep within our experience, the ablest inventor has but a strictly limited power. Not Shakespeare himself could have made the Londoners content to suppose that a Spanish ship lying at the Nore had fired upon an English ship lying at the Tower: They simply could not suppose it. Yet this is the sort of fiction which the Athenians, a people singularly severe in their criticism of the imagination, are supposed to have accepted without demur, and honoured with their highest reward. The description of the beacons (v. 293) is curiously complete and careful. Every stage is marked and named beyond possibility of mistake. The first three stages are, as above said, from Mount Ida to the island of Lemnos, from Lemnos to Athos, from Athos to the highest point of Euboea. The distances are for the first two stages about sixty miles, for the third stage about a hundred miles. It is needless to prove that beacons at these intervals would be useless generally, useless even if we did not throw in, as Aeschylus would appear to do, the special facility of a tremendous storm, raging in the very region of the longest transit. Let it be assumed, that in the atmosphere of the Mediterranean, on a clear night, a bonfire one hundred miles away would be made out with ease and certainty<sup>2</sup>. What would be the use of a signal, intended to operate at some unknown time in the course of the year, if it were so arranged as to be defeated by clouds at any point in a traject of one hundred miles? Did then the Athenian audience not know these distances and their relation to the purpose

<sup>1</sup> Not however all ; see Paley.

<sup>2</sup> It might possibly be seen, under these circumstances, even much farther. See *Telegraphy of the Ancients* (Merriam),

*Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America No. 1, Classical Series III.* I have modified accordingly what was said here in the first edition

of a beacon? How could they possibly fail to know the facts, and to have such a vivid consciousness of them as could not for an instant be put by? Euboea, the terminus of the most prodigious leap, was geographically and politically almost part of Attica itself. Athos, the starting-point of the leap, lay right in the eye of Athenian policy and trade, always specially directed to the north and north-west of the Aegæan. The people were essentially a people of seamen. When the *Agamemnon* was produced, they had been engaged for twenty years in a struggle for the naval dominion of those very seas, a struggle upon which depended most of their wealth and all their national importance. They were familiar with beacons in peace and in war, and used them, as of course everywhere else, in Euboea, to signal to Skiathos, a distance of some twelve miles<sup>1</sup>. The statement that a beacon signal was transmitted in the midst of a storm from Athos to Euboea stood to the knowledge and habits of Athens then in much the same relation as the statement that a steamer ran across the Atlantic in one day would stand to the knowledge and habits of Liverpool now.

And here again, as in the matter of time, the story is not merely absurd in fact, but wilfully and as it were purposely absurd. If the geographical facts were to the poet indifferent, why is he at such pains to be precise? Nothing would have been easier or more natural, in a mere exercise of the imagination, than to leave the details in some obscurity, to start the signals upon a more or less practicable route, and then to fetch the matter off with generalities, as Macaulay does repeatedly in his *Armada*. But Aeschylus leaves not a loop-hole; and when he comes to the most miraculous part of the story (*v.* 298) he is careful to give our incredulity a jog.

But if the defects of the fable are glaring (and on this enough seems to have been said), they are also extremely dangerous. What is the real opinion of modern critics on this point, the critics themselves show by a testimony more telling than any direct condemnation, by ignoring and, as far as possible, concealing the facts. No one, as I have already said, ventures to tell, as it is received, the story of the play. As an example I purposely choose (for the criticism is in no way personal) a book to which I am much indebted, the edition of Mr Sidgwick. 'The action of the play in details' says Mr Sidgwick in his Introduction 'is as follows:—

Agamemnon has been absent for ten years at Troy. Meanwhile his wife Klytaemnestra has been ruling Argos in conjunction with her lover Aegisthos.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. 7, 182.



The news of the capture of Troy is daily expected, and the play opens with the appearance of the night-watchman on the roof, waiting (as he has been for a year past) for the beacon fire which is to announce the victory. While the watchman is complaining of his trouble, the flame flashes out, and he goes to tell his mistress (Prologue). The chorus enter and sing: meanwhile the queen comes out and is seen lighting the altar fires and preparing for a festal display in honour of the event. The leader of the chorus learns from her the tidings, and after describing the beacon-race, she imagines the scene in Troy and expresses a hope that all will end well (Scene 1). *After another choric song* the Herald appears, who describes first the sufferings before Troy, and finally the storm which scattered the fleet; the queen sends by him a welcome to her lord (Scene 2). *In Scene 3 Agamemnon returns with Cassandra*.

Now could it possibly occur to any one upon reading this—more especially if he happened to know that Aeschylus, like a modern dramatist, did not limit his plots to any special period of time—but with or without this information could any one suspect from the above, that all these events are represented as occurring within a few hours? Should we not assume, and is it not indeed tacitly implied, that the action of the *Agamemnon*, like that of its continuation, the *Eumenides*, is divided; and that the necessary lapse of time between these 'scenes' is either expressly noticed, as in the *Eumenides*, or left open to our imagination? But is this what the editor means? On the contrary, long afterwards in the course of the notes we come upon the following, 504. Observe that the herald arrives from Troy, announcing the landing of Agamemnon, immediately after the beacon fires, on the morning after the capture. Such violations of possibility were held quite allowable by the license of dramatic poetry'. This last statement shall be considered presently. But first let us ask why, if this violation of possibility is so simple and so common, it should not be exhibited in the commentary with the same frankness as in the play? Why is 'the action of the play in details' so described as to suppress a feature which we are to observe, and why is the like device adopted, as it is, by one writer after another? It is prompted by the instinct of self-preservation. The expositor, loyally identifying himself with the author, feels that, whatever he may say about dramatic license, the reader will as a fact be repelled at starting by the wanton perversity of the fiction; and he screens it accordingly. How is it that no similar apprehension occurred to the dramatist?

For as to the statement that on the Athenian stage 'such violations of possibility were held quite allowable', I must take leave to say that it is not only without evidence, but altogether contrary to the evidence. There is no example 'such' or approximately such, and the theoretic

treatise of Aristotle on the drama remains to prove, what the extant plays confirm, that the Athenian public, so far from being indifferent to consistency, attached to it an importance much greater than the moderns, and more perhaps than is reasonable. And observe further, that the successors of Aeschylus had a temptation, and so far an excuse, for taking liberties in the matter of time, which Aeschylus himself had not. After Aeschylus 'the unity of time', that is, the restriction of the play to an action within one day, grew into a practice and apparently into something like a rule. It is not always observed, the *Supplies* of Euripides, for example, does not conform to it. But there was a tendency to observe it, and the tendency produced, as it was sure to do, some questionable treatment of this artificial 'day', though neither Sophocles nor Euripides, nor any one else that I know of, ever presents us with a 'day' like that of the *Agamemnon*<sup>1</sup>. But Aeschylus did not so straiten himself. The second scene of the *Eumenides* is separated from the first by an interval of months, if not of years<sup>2</sup>. If therefore he wished to bring into one play the fall of Troy and the return of the Greeks, he had no need to appeal to any dramatic license, nor any temptation to distort the facts. His successors could not have done so consistently with their usual practice, and probably would not have thought it desirable. But to account for the supposed structure of the *Agamemnon*, we must assume that Aeschylus, who ignores the 'unity' in the third play of the trilogy, adopted it for the first play in this self-contradictory form, that the action of one play ought nominally to fall within one day, but that in this 'day' may happen whatever events we please. I think it may safely be asserted that such a theory was never professed by any author or critic whatever.

As I see no reason to think that the popular mind in the time of Aeschylus was in this respect different from the popular mind now, I will offer a Socratic parallel, not the less just because it is homely. —Scene: A room in London Time: Early morning. Servants discovered preparing the room. From their conversation it appears that the master of the house has been for some time in Africa, and that the conduct of his wife, in relation to a person too often received, is causing them much anxiety and a strong desire for the master's return. They have learnt with satisfaction that their mistress is expecting soon to hear that he is on the way home. A telegram arrives for the lady, who presently appears and informs them that it is from her husband,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. xviii, note 2.

mediate wanderings, *Eum. vv.* 239—241,

<sup>2</sup> See the description of Orestes' inter-

284—5, 454—5.

and was despatched last night from Lake Nyanza. Being asked by a servant whether there is a telegraph at the Lake, she explains that the wires have just been extended so far by the result of her husband's enterprise. He intends to return forthwith. She wonders what sort of breakfast he is having in Africa, and hopes that he will not meet with any accident on the road back. The table is laid, and the lady is sitting down to it, when there is a ring at the bell. Enter the husband's courier, who announces that his master is detained for a few minutes at the terminus, but is coming immediately. He dilates upon the discomforts of the Overland route and the breaking-down of an Italian train. The husband follows accordingly. He describes the success of his explorations. The lady receives him with rapture but without any surprise. In conversation with him she says nothing of the telegram, nor he to her. And so ends the first scene.—Now at this point of the story we might either know the key to the riddle (if the author were dramatizing a popular novel) or we might wait for the solution in the sequel. But what would be the bewilderment and the dismay of the audience if it should prove that there was no solution, and that the mysterious telegram, introduced with so much circumstance, had no bearing on the story whatever! I submit that this is not the way in which the crowns of the drama may be won, and that the most rigorous proof should be required before we assume that it ever was.

And so we come to our third point, that these glaring and dangerous defects of construction are also useless and gratuitous. After all, this is perhaps the chief matter. The imagination will work for very moderate wages; but it does expect to be paid something, and a little extra for over-time. There is perhaps no limit, there is certainly no ascertainable limit, to what men will grant to a narrator in the way of supposition, so long as he justifies the concession by making use of it and gives interest for the loan, or in plain words, so long as the supposition is required by the story. A classical example is the story of *Oedipus*<sup>1</sup>; but in fact almost every story illustrates in some degree this principle of criticism, and the readers of fiction are applying it every day. If a romancer were to declare that a whole fleet was wafted, spirited, or what you will, five hundred miles in five minutes, and if out of this fiction were developed incidents of interest requiring the supposition, it is quite possible that his audience or his readers might be perfectly content. But the wild

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks of Sir R. C. Jebb in his Introduction to the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, p. xlv.

assumptions debited to the *Agamemnon* explain nothing, lead to nothing, serve nothing. If the circumstances of time and place were as natural as they are in fact prodigious, the supposed story would still be a marvel of discontinuity. Let any one suppose the opening scenes of the play, as far as the entrance of the herald, to have survived as a fragment; let him notice the striking incidents which centre upon the announcement of the beacon-message, the night alarm, the amazement of the elders, their vain attempt to get more information from the queen, their open incredulity; and then let him consider how he would have conceived the lost remainder. Why does the poet occupy us with the beacons at all? When with all this expense of falsehood the king is at last brought upon the stage, and the play, which is now nearing its middle, begins for the first time to be connectedly intelligible, all the preliminary apparatus, as we have already said, is simply neglected. Nay more, the only fact which emerges, if anything does, from the perplexity of the introduction—that the king in some unexplained manner came home with astonishing speed and arrived almost as soon as he was announced—, so far from accounting for the sequel, greatly aggravates the difficulties of a narrative, which, as we will show, could ill afford the increase.

Almost every fine story, and in particular almost every story suitable for the stage, contains a certain element of essential improbability. Contrast, so important in dramatic effect, will generally require surprising incidents, and what is surprising cannot be altogether likely. The story of *Agamemnon* and *Clytaemnestra* is no exception to this general rule. It is not impossible, but it is essentially improbable, that a powerful monarch, returning from a great and glorious expedition, should be murdered by his wife and her paramour, and that the murderers should not only escape immediate punishment, but should usurp the throne and establish themselves in possession. It would be much in such a case if the guilty pair could save themselves by a prompt flight from the vengeance of the triumphant husband. That in the very moment of his new strength and prestige they should actually overthrow him and take his place is a thing which only under the most peculiarly favourable circumstances could either happen or seem credible. The first task therefore of a narrator, who for the sake of the striking situation should undertake to present such a story, must be to adopt such circumstances, and upon his skill in doing this his success, if he were a dramatist, must in the first instance largely depend. For however it may be with the student or the reader, a popular audience cares first of all for the story, and is not to be put off with



profundity of thought, or splendour of language, or sounding rhythm, or with all of these things together.

Now it will be allowed that in the *Agamemnon*, as commonly read, the mechanism of the story has received from the author no consideration at all. According to Aeschylus, it would seem that for an adulteress to kill her king and husband on a day of triumph, and to raise her paramour to the throne, is an enterprise too plainly facile to require any explanation of the means. Of course the returning monarch will have no suspicions and receive no warning, of course, however abruptly he may arrive, he will find all prepared for the deed; of course when he has fallen, any slight mutiny on the part of his soldiers or subjects will be instantly and easily suppressed. But that Aeschylus should have been content to treat the matter thus is remarkable, not only upon general considerations of theatrical art, but for two more particular reasons. It is odd that if he really did not care, and did not expect any one to care, how the events came about, he should become scrupulous in explanation just at the point where the story is simplest, at the actual striking of the murderous stroke. If, in defiance of likelihood, we once suppose the king to walk ignorant and unsuspecting into the palace where, to the knowledge of his faithful servants and subjects<sup>1</sup>, his queen is living in adultery, we can imagine a hundred ways in which the wife, if so minded, might compass his death. Yet the poet exactly describes the very peculiar device by which the murderess made sure that her victim should have, as she says, 'neither defence nor escape' (*v.* 1380). Strange that he should have regarded this, and disregarded the only real and pressing questions, how she got her chance and how she secured her impunity! And again, even if the tragedian did not observe for himself that in such a case the preparatory conditions must be a vital part of the plot, it is odd that he should not have recognized this, when it had been emphasized long before by the original narrators of the story.

The version of the legend current at the date of the *Odyssey* is there given incidentally several times<sup>2</sup>. According to this, Aegisthus, the lover of Clytaemnestra, wooed her during the absence of Agamemnon, and with much difficulty induced her to quit the house of her husband for his own. Upon the return of the king, Aegisthus bade him to a feast, and there treacherously fell upon him and slew him, Clytaemnestra

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 37, 620, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 1. 35 foll., 3. 247 foll., 4. 512 foll., 11. 405 foll.

assisting. The narration given in Book xi by the ghost of Agamemnon also introduces the presence and death of the captive Cassandra. Now we have but to read these references to see at once, that the epic poets in their construction of the story were principally occupied with the question, how such a thing could possibly come about, how the king could arrive at the house of Aegisthus uninformed of his wife's infidelity, and why his death was not prevented or instantly avenged by his companions in arms. The two most elaborate recitals, those in the Third and the Fourth Book, relate almost entirely to these points; and in the Third Book the problem is formally propounded. 'How' asks Telemachus of Nestor very pertinently 'was the imperial Agamemnon slain? Where was Menelaus? And by what cunning did Aegisthus contrive the death of one far mightier than himself?' The first question, how the king came to be at the moment comparatively helpless, is thereupon answered by Nestor, who relates how a storm divided and in great part destroyed the returning host. Of this we need say little now, as this part of the story is adopted by Aeschylus and will appear presently in its place. The second and principal question, what means Aegisthus used and how they came to be successful, is answered by the narrative of Proteus in the Fourth Book. There we learn that Aegisthus after the seduction, lest Agamemnon should reach home unobserved and learning the facts should fall upon the seducer by surprise, set a watch to look out for him, whose vigilance was prompted by a great bribe. He continued to watch for a year before the king returned, when an accident rewarded this precaution with undesigned and extraordinary success. The same storm, which scattered the fleet, so carried the king's ship out of its course, that he was thankful to land not at home but upon Aegisthus' domain, near the very castle to which he had carried Clytaemnestra. (It is plain that in the circumstances supposed by Homer this accident offers the only condition under which Agamemnon could possibly be taken unawares.) Aegisthus, apprised by his watchman and seizing the opportunity, invited the king and his companions to a pretended feast of welcome, at which they were treacherously slain. It is noteworthy that the bard, so full is he of the feeling that to fall upon the veterans of Troy, with whatever advantage, was a hazardous feat, after saying that not one of the king's followers was left, adds grimly that not one of the assassins was left either.

X Now between Homer and Aeschylus the story, as we see, has essentially changed. In Aeschylus the murder takes place at the king's house, where the queen is still ruling, and it is she who plays the deceptive part. Much has been said, and much that is true, on the moral and



spiritual aspects of this change, and on the motives of this kind which would commend it to the tragedian<sup>1</sup>. But there were also other reasons simpler and more imperative, why the Homeric version should not have been followed entirely by subsequent narrators, and especially upon the Athenian stage. Without a strong effort of historic imagination, such as no dramatist would willingly require of a popular audience, the Homeric tale could not have been realised. It might pass very well in the antique and consecrated epic, but to expose it in an unfamiliar dress to the 'faithful witness of the eye' would have been in the days of Aeschylus a bold effort indeed. The Homeric story demands for its reception the Homeric mind, and that in two respects. First, in the supposed condition of society and, if the word is applicable, of politics. As conceived by the bard, the whole issue lies between the households and retainers of two chieftains. The lady of Agamemnon leaves her husband's castle for that of Aegisthus. Between the two families this is a deadly breach, but there the rupture ends. What would become of Agamemnon's government upon the flight of his imperial regent, and how the state and the people would be affected and behave, are questions which do not arise, simply because among the independent nobles, to whom the story was sung, no such questions would actually have arisen. But how should they not suggest themselves, if the story was to be presented visibly and in modernized language before a great democracy, to whom the administration of government was a daily familiar problem? And secondly, the epic tale depends still more strictly and necessarily upon the primitive isolation of places. To the bard and his hearers it seemed natural, or at any rate within the license of fiction, that Clytemnestra in the Peloponnese should have been living for a year in the house of her lover, and that her husband should still return from the Troad ignorant of anything wrong. And the audience of Homer might very well think so. With such communication between the places as they knew, they might well suppose that an expedition sent from Argos to Troy, if such a thing were to be imagined, would for the time be totally cut off from home and news of home. But how was this to pass in the middle of the fifth century? Would the mass of Athenian spectators, accustomed to hear news from Sigeum every week, readily conceive this situation, and was it worth while to risk anything upon their readiness? Aeschylus at any rate makes no such attempt. On the contrary, by a natural compromise with the habitual ideas of his own time, he supposes such a possibility of communication

<sup>1</sup> See for example the excellent introduction to Enger's edition.

between Troy and Argos that sometimes the very ashes of the dead were sent home for burial<sup>1</sup>. It is needless to look further for reasons why he should not have placed the queen in the house of Aegisthus, and the same reflexion, we may add, should make us very slow to assume, as we commonly do, that he has placed Aegisthus in the palace or even in the realm of Clytaemnestra.

Aeschylus then, or the predecessors whom he followed, in adapting the Homeric tradition to the expectations of their public, could not but drop the incident upon which in Homer the whole mechanism of the story depends. But neither surely could they drop it without compensation. The story of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra is essentially the story of a daring venture, which against all probability and by the favour of circumstances succeeded. The epic bard, after the fashion expected of him, provides the circumstances. With the change of manners and knowledge this fashion became unsuitable; and the difficulty of saving the situation at all was increased in many ways too obvious to be specified. The problem then standing thus, how does the Aeschylean narrative deal with it? The Homeric solution being discarded, what solution does Aeschylus provide? Absolutely, if we are to accept the interpretation of the Byzantine critics, no solution or attempted solution at all. It is hard to say whether the story, as they would reconstruct it, is more amazing in what it affirms or in what it ignores. To the question, the inevitable question, of the Homeric Telemachus, 'How was the imperial Agamemnon slain, and by what cunning device was he overpowered?' the answer of Aeschylus, we are to understand, would have been this, 'Clytaemnestra entangled him in a bath-drapery made for the purpose'<sup>1</sup>.

We will now rapidly follow the action, from the point where we left it to pursue this criticism. Our difficulties will not disappear or diminish as we proceed. It is true that all that part of the drama which lies between the entrance of Agamemnon and the entrance of Aegisthus, though perplexing in the highest degree if considered in connexion with what precedes or in reference to the unprovided requirements of the situation, does not offer, if taken by itself, any obstacle sufficient to mar its magnificent and astounding effect. The exit of the king, the whole part of Cassandra, the whole scene between the queen and the elders after the murder are such as it would be impertinent to praise. Upon this part of the play, something less than half of it, regarded practically as an independent piece, now reposes

<sup>1</sup> v. 448, see also v. 855 foll.

1035 ↓  
1515 }  
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the whole reputation of the drama considered as a drama. Indeed the author of the Greek Introduction in the MS., whose ideas respecting the plot as a whole we are content to borrow, is on this point candid enough. 'This part of the play', he coolly says, after describing the exit of the king and of Cassandra, 'is admired as astonishing and very pathetic'. It would be easy to show that this significant *expressio unius* represents also the opinion of the moderns, and that, notwithstanding the rich beauties of the whole, every one more or less openly wonders, why the magnificent central picture and the exquisitely carven frame should be so ill fitted to each other.

1578

For with the entrance of Aegisthus the difficulty begins again. It even becomes so great that it cannot be tolerated, and the knot has to be cut by change of the text. Nowhere is it more apparent than in the finale, how much the dramatist relied for the exposition of the story upon the visible action and upon the previous knowledge of the spectators, how imperfect as a narrative are the mere speeches and odes by themselves, and how serious a task for us, who have neither stage-directions nor authoritative preface, is the reconstruction of the indispensable remainder. We find Aegisthus speaking upon the stage; but how he comes there, where he comes from, and how his appearance is connected with the action up to this point, are questions not to be answered by the mere perusal of what is said. So much however is plain (and admitted), that language is used which cannot be reconciled with the current conception of the story. According to Aeschylus, it is supposed, the overthrow of Agamemnon is entirely the work of Clytaemnestra. Her paramour, being, as the Argives tell him, a dastard, remains hidden in the palace or neighbourhood, and appears only to exult when the deed is done. (Why he should have run the enormous risk of being there at all, if he had no part to play, and whether his conduct is not even more foolish than cowardly, are questions which might occur to us in passing.) But this being so, it is strange that Aegisthus should not only attribute the success to himself, but applaud himself vehemently for the ingenuity by which it was attained: and it passes comprehension that the Argive elders should take him at his own valuation as the principal agent, and should speak of the queen, the sole agent, as having merely 'joined in' the plan. 'It was I', says Aegisthus, 'who combined and contrived all the difficult plot'. What plot? There is no plot. There is no combination or contrivance at all. The king comes to his palace, the queen (how could she less?)

pretending to welcome him. His first act, as a matter of course, is to take the accustomed lustral bath preparatory to sacrifice. The queen, attending him, envelopes him after the bath with an entangling drapery provided for the occasion, and then in this helpless condition butchers him with an axe. Where is the contrivance? The peculiar drapery? Truly a most ingenious combination. Is it not obvious that if we ignore all the real difficulties of the enterprise, if we suppose the king to arrive uninformed and unsuspecting in the kingdom where his queen had long entertained his bitterest foe, if we suppose that a victorious general had no friends in the country willing or able to avenge him, the actual killing might be done by anybody at almost any time and without the slightest difficulty? That his wife should slay him at the lustration, and should have his drapery so made as to entangle him, might show in her a fiendish cruelty and a cold-blooded precaution, but would he have lived and prospered if the drapery had been of the common make? Truly a profound and an admirable combination!

Yet the Argive elders are quite satisfied. They at once recognize Aegisthus as the contriver and prime agent of the scheme, and all they have to ask is, why then he did not act without the queen. 'Why, as it was thy plot, why, coward, didst thou not do the butchery alone? Why join his wife with thee? Why, to the defilement of our land and our gods, must she be his murderer?'<sup>1</sup>

τί δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἀπὸ ψυχῆς κακῆς  
οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠνάριζες, ἀλλὰ σὺν γυνή,  
χώρας μίasma καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων,  
ἔκτεινε,

And here no disguise is possible. Every one sees that this language, with the emphatic *σύν*, is not such as could reasonably be addressed to one who had merely lain by, while the wife directed and performed the whole. Accordingly *σύν* is condemned as an error, to be replaced by *σοι*, *νῦν*, or other palliatives<sup>2</sup>. We will not here stop to discuss this device, nor will we go further, as might be done, in pressing the acknowledged difficulties which affect the received exposition of the drama as a whole. Sufficient, in my judgment, has been said to show that the text, as it remains to us, without the explanations furnished to the audience by the action upon the stage and by the current version of

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 1633—1646.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth notice that we have the authority of the *Venetus* as well as the *Florentinus* for *σύν*, which was there-

fore almost certainly in the *Mediceus*. That it should have been wrongly inserted by a copyist is technically improbable.



the story, which they previously knew, presents a difficult problem, to be solved, if at all, by the reconstruction of the action and of the story which Aeschylus presupposed as known, and that as a solution of this problem the hypothesis of the ancient editors is unworthy of consideration, that it is in fact no solution whatever. It does not give a rational account of the facts or make the purpose of the author intelligible. We will turn rather to the positive and perhaps more fruitful side of the enquiry.

As a preliminary we will notice two or three salient points, which may serve to indicate the direction in which we should strike off. The first of these indications meets us, as if placed for the purpose (and indeed it is) at the very threshold of the play. The watchman upon the palace-roof, whose duty it is to look for the beacon announcing the fall of Troy, informs us in his first words that this outlook has been kept nightly *for a year*. Why for a year? Are we to understand that, when the war had already run eight or nine years, the king and queen, having hitherto thought the ordinary communications sufficient, suddenly established the beacons? It cannot be by accident that this 'year-long watch' exactly reproduces one feature in the story of Homer<sup>1</sup>. In Homer the watchman of Aegisthus had been expecting Agamemnon 'for a year'. These words of Aeschylus, compared with the epic narrative, are in themselves enough to suggest and almost to raise a presumption, that in the Aeschylean narrative also the design of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra had been on foot for a year, and that the outlook kept by the watchman was closely connected with this design.

And for a second guiding-line, let us look again at the very remarkable speech of the queen which follows her description of the beacons and shortly precedes the entry of Agamemnon's herald<sup>2</sup>. It is remarkable, as already observed, as directing our attention to the fact that, if the preceding story be true, the Greeks must be still in Troy. It is even more remarkable as showing, on the part of Clytaemnestra, a power of unconscious divination which Cassandra might have envied. She makes, it is true, the very natural mistake of supposing that the Greeks are in Troy; but on the other hand how wonderfully does she forecast the rest of their story! Except that she does not anticipate (small blame to her prophecy) the compression of the events into one night, her divination is perfect. She fears that the Greek army, not content with their legitimate triumph, may be tempted to plunder the sacred treasures of Troy. They have actually done so. She points out that

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 4. 526.

<sup>2</sup> *v.* 332.



such impiety might expose them to the chastisement of the gods in the course of the voyage home. They have actually suffered such a chastisement. The queen, in short, knows so much that it becomes an interesting enquiry how much exactly she knows, and what is the source of her knowledge.

And for the third indication let us turn to the continuation of the story, to the moment in the *Choephoroi*, when Orestes has entered the palace to execute his vengeance, when the murderers of Agamemnon are about 'to be slain by stratagem even as they slew<sup>1</sup>'. It is thus that the chorus, expectant without, sum up the issue to be decided. 'Now either shall the bloody violence of the murderous *axes* make an end utterly and altogether of Agamemnon's house : or else Orestes, *burning a fire and a light for liberation and lawful rule*, shall win again the high prosperity of his fathers'. It is plain that in the first part of the alternative the metaphor of the axes is chosen for its reference to the manner of Agamemnon's death. What was it that suggested in the second alternative the choice of the far from obvious metaphor of a fire? Certainly nothing in the plan of Orestes himself as given us in the *Choephoroi*. Is it not at least a fair *prima facie* conjecture that this also refers to the former plan of his enemies ; and that the restoration of the lawful monarchy is likened to the lighting of a fire for liberty, because by the lighting of a fire for tyranny it had been formerly overthrown? But if this is so, we must revise our reading of the *Agamemnon*.

Setting out upon the line thus indicated we might proceed in two ways. Either we might re-examine the play throughout and draw at each point conclusions as to the facts or the dramatic *action*, as distinct from the mere words, which the text assumes. Or, anticipating the conclusion, we may first sketch the story continuously, as we suppose it might have been told in outline, before the play was performed, by any one who knew the version current at the time in Athens, and may then justify our 'hypothesis' by explaining from it the construction of the play. We will take rather the second way, as putting the narrative and the dramatic version in their true order, and will begin with a hypothetical narrative. But in doing this we shall not attempt a distinction, for which there are no materials, between the general outline which the poet took from current literature and the minor details which he may have introduced himself

<sup>1</sup> *Cho.* 853 ; see also *ib.* 887

2 *The Narrative.*

By Divine Providence it is appointed that sin shall tend to make more sin, and in the end that sin shall bring forth punishment. The fall of Agamemnon was the consequence of the sin of his father, seconded in its effect by further sin of his own. His father Atreus, by a horrible crime, brought upon his family an unappeasable enmity and the curse of heaven. Divine interference, punishing this crime in the son, exposed him to a temptation which he had not the virtue to resist. His sin provoked another enmity personal to himself, to reinforce the enmity, bequeathed by his father, and the two joined together for his ruin.

The starting-point of the story is the Thyestean feast. Thyestes, brother of Atreus, having corrupted his wife and disputed his throne, and having been banished from Argos, endeavoured by throwing himself upon his brother's mercy to obtain restoration. Atreus pretended to welcome him and to celebrate his return by a feast, at which two of Thyestes' children were served as food to their father, and he was made to eat of it unawares. Thyestes, in the agony of the discovery, devoted the accursed house 'to perish in like manner', overturning the table with his foot as a symbol of his prayer. With his remaining child, Aegisthus, he was then sent again into banishment.

Upon Agamemnon, the son of Atreus, who with his brother Menelaus succeeded to the throne, the curse began to work its effect on the occasion of the expedition to Troy. The anger of heaven against the family delayed with contrary winds the assembled fleet<sup>1</sup>, until the seers suggested to the kings as a propitiation the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter, Iphigenia. To this wicked act the father at last consented, and from this time was pursued by the hatred of his wife Clytaemnestra as well as that of the still-banished Aegisthus. During the expedition Argos was governed by Clytaemnestra, supported by those elders who necessarily remained at home.

Where Aegisthus was spending his exile, and at what time he first conceived that in the absence of the king and the wrath of the queen he might find the opportunity of restoration and revenge, we do not learn, nor is it material. It is implied that he did visit Argos, not of course openly, and so prevailed with the queen, that she was ready to be his accomplice, if occasion served. With many dramatists, with Euripides for example, it would have been a main point in such a

<sup>1</sup> See on *vv.* 139—144.

situation to show precisely how, in the union of Agamemnon's enemies, Love and Hatred became conspirators—

ξυνώμοσαν γάρ, ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρῖν.

But the analysis of the passions was no part of the Aeschylean drama, and the apportionment of the two motives is left undetermined, the less intimate and sentimental being placed in the foreground.

But the guilty coalition of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra was so far from securing the punishment of their common enemy, that it was scarcely so much as a step towards it. It is needless to enquire, and perhaps the poet could scarcely have told us, exactly what institutions he represented to himself as the 'free and lawful government' of ancient Argos<sup>1</sup>. Doubtless some such limited monarchy, supported and balanced by the influence of privileged councillors and by the popular will, as the Athenians attributed to their own Theseus, such as their stage exhibits, for example, in the *Oedipus at Colonus*, and as their historian asserts to have been the primitive model all over Hellas<sup>2</sup>. But at any rate in no state, not even the rudest despotism,—and that the Argos of this drama is not a despotism, we are expressly told<sup>3</sup>—could the alliance of the queen-regent with a broken exile give her the power, any more than the right, to assail with impunity the person or throne of the monarch, whether present or absent, so long as his subjects were loyal to him. A speedy success at Troy and a triumphant return would have made Agamemnon safe. But the vengeance of Heaven was not to be thus eluded. At the setting forth of the army it was prophesied, that though for the sin of Paris Troy was destined to fall, yet by the evil genius of the Atridae her fall should be long delayed<sup>4</sup>. It was the length of the war which wrought the king's ruin, and made at last an opening through which his enemies struck home.

In two ways marked by the dramatist the authority of the royal brothers in Argos was shaken by this protracted contest. First, by the mere change of persons. The departing army left behind them those too old for war and those too young, the elders and the boys. During the ten years the elders were passing away or sinking into dotage, the boys were growing up, and all to the disadvantage of the house of Atreus. Among the elders naturally were to be found most personal devotion to the princes and most attachment to established power. It is this party, if we may so call them, Agamemnon's natural friends and

<sup>1</sup> ἑλευθερία ἀρχαὶ τε πολισσονόμοι, *Cho.* 863. See also *Ag.* 835 foll.

<sup>2</sup> *Thuc.* 1 13 ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέραςι πατρικαὶ βασιλείαι.

<sup>3</sup> *v.* 1353.

<sup>4</sup> *vv.* 125—145.

councillors, which is represented by the feeble and anxious remnant, who form the principal chorus of the play : and the poet has spared no pains to expose their weakness<sup>1</sup>. As we shall see, the very crisis of the action turns upon their inevitable defect in quickness, decision, and courage. Meanwhile the generation coming up was far from compensating in loyalty for the generation going down. As more and more lives were sacrificed to the revenge of Menelaus, discontent grew deeper and wider ; until at last, before the end came, the friends of the king, seeing the course of affairs, yet not daring to interfere, acknowledged to themselves that all was ripe for an outbreak against the government. Powerless already, they lived in constant fear of some dark design, and began to look with desperate eagerness for the king's return<sup>2</sup>.

Meanwhile the queen and the partner of her guilt were using and aiding the natural course of events. How much the king's friends knew, or how much they suspected, of the queen's unfaithfulness, the dramatist nowhere determines, nor would anything have been gained dramatically, but much lost, by doing so. In such a case the question of moment is not so much what is known or suspected, but rather what cannot be ignored and therefore is publicly acknowledged. It is plain from the whole course of the play that the correspondence and intimacy of Clytaemnestra with Aegisthus was, when Agamemnon returned, still a secret, not an open scandal<sup>3</sup>. Upon any other supposition the behaviour of the elders, the king's devoted subjects, towards the queen in the early part of the play and towards the king at his coming, is inconceivable, and indeed the whole story is palpably impossible. We are directed to suppose that by the end of the war the repute of Clytaemnestra had reached that only too familiar stage, when a wife's adultery is known to every one and proclaimed by no one, and when those know least or speak least of it who are most nearly interested, those who, expecting yet weakly dreading the discovery, still say to themselves with the Argive elders

πάλαι τὸ σιγᾶν φάρμακον βλάβης ἔχω.

Down to the day of the king's return Aegisthus was still nominally, as well as legally, a banished man, coming and going doubtless more and more frequently as the hopes of the exiles and the malcontents rose,

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 71—83 and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *vv.* 437—480, and *vv.* 543—555, the first a passage of great importance, in which this part of the story is effectively summed up

<sup>3</sup> 'Aegisthos und Klytaemnestra schlieszen zwar einen Bund, allein er muss, wenn

die List gelingen soll, vor der Welt geheim gehalten werden'. Enger, *Einführung*. This is perfectly true, but if Clytaemnestra had recalled from banishment her husband's hereditary enemy, what concealment could any longer be pretended?



while the other side still maintained the politic fiction of his absence. ~~On the fatal morning itself he was actually not in the Argolid.~~ Where he was, and where for a long while past he had spent the intervals between his visits, the story is presently to discover. Meanwhile all that the loyal elders knew and acknowledged to themselves respecting the dangerous state of the popular mind was naturally transmitted to their master<sup>1</sup>. Nor was it possible but that with these reports a messenger less discreet or more courageous than the rest should sometimes whisper a more dark insinuation. Both the knowledge and the suspicion thus communicated determine, and are necessary to account for, the language held by Agamemnon during his brief appearance before the palace-gate.

But the fears of the seniors would have been much more cruel, and their representations more outspoken, if they had known but half the truth. They perceived that the common indignation against the war offered a ready bond for a conspiracy<sup>2</sup>; they were not aware that the fiercer spirits were already bound in a plot, and waited only to determine by circumstances how and when they should strike. To explain the sequel we will state so much as the story presumes to be known respecting the geography of the place. The Argolid or *πάλις Ἀργεῖος* is a plain opening southwards upon a deep bay of the sea, and enclosed on the other sides by mountains. The mountains to the N.-E. of the plain are continued southwards in a great promontory forming the eastern side of the bay, and northwards into a mass of hills which extends as far as the Isthmus of Corinth. This whole chain was a lonely region, and had an evil reputation in legend and fact as a haunt of outlaws and robbers<sup>3</sup>. Nearest to the fortified seat of the Atridae<sup>4</sup>, lay Mount Arachnaeus, the *Spider-Mountain*, whose quaint name suggested more than one fanciful application, and not improbably gave the first hint for the story which Aeschylus followed<sup>5</sup>. Here, amid the web of hills and spurs, upon the edge of the forbidden land, lay Aegisthus in hiding with such power as he could make, and fed himself, as he tells us, with the exile's bread of expectation<sup>6</sup>. Here

<sup>1</sup> v. 821.

<sup>2</sup> v. 463.

<sup>3</sup> See the story of Theseus and Periphetes.

<sup>4</sup> See a note on the Argos of the dramatists by Prof. Mahaffy, *Rambles in Greece*, chap. xiii. p. 355. It does not however appear in this play precisely where the 'fortress' is to be figured, whether at the historical city of Argos, or

at Mycenae, or elsewhere. An Athenian audience, as appears very clearly in the opening of Sophocles' *Electra*, would not be punctilious on such a point. My language here in the first edition was too definite.

<sup>5</sup> See the twice repeated, v. 1493, and note.

<sup>6</sup> v. 1668.



was the fittest place from which to watch the communications of Argos by sea and land with the army in the far east; and hence it was easy, when the moment should come, to signal either by day or by night to his partizans in the castle and throughout the country. Supposing all for the best, a hard enough task lay still before him.

For it would have been madness to assume that because the Argives murmured against the absent princes, and because, while appearances were kept up, the malcontents seemed a formidable number, therefore all, or a majority, were ready to stand by while the queen disowned her husband and proclaimed her lover. In such a situation the very best restorative to loyalty is that the lawful authority should be assailed by violence one minute too soon. And so foul a treachery as that of Clytaemnestra must arm against it not only all those whose disaffection had spent itself in hot words, but every honest man. Only with the advantage of surprise and stratagem could her cause be won by such and so many as would support it when once proclaimed. The key to the country was its 'sole fortress', the city or rather the castle of the Atridae<sup>1</sup>. To put it into the hands of the traitors would with some management not be difficult. But of what use was this, if the king were thereupon to return armed with all the strength of Achaia and of Hellas? Plainly the ultimate success or failure of Aegisthus must turn on the question whether Agamemnon came back, and in what circumstances he came. Meanwhile the conspirators resolved at least not to be surprised. The seas were carefully scanned (with what result hereafter appears); and that communication might be instantly opened, if necessary, between the principals, a watchman upon the palace kept outlook every night for a beacon upon the Mountain of the Spider<sup>2</sup>. Here a small difficulty had to be overcome. The servants of Agamemnon's household were devoted to their master. None of them could be trusted. Yet to introduce a stranger for such a special service would have attracted suspicion at once. Accordingly Clytaemnestra chose among the servants a fellow as simple as loyal, and, to explain to him his employment, pretended to be expecting a beacon-signal announcing the king's success. His vigilance and silence were secured by threats and bribes. This arrangement was maintained during the

<sup>1</sup> v. 267.

<sup>2</sup> For some interesting remarks on this part of the story see *Classical Review* 11. 98. Prof. Platt observes truly that the Watchman, if the conspirators had, as must be supposed, other means of information, is no longer, as in Homer (see

above) a necessary figure in the mechanism, though it is perhaps going too far to call him an inconsistent figure. He may, as Prof. Platt says, be regarded as a survival from the Homeric version, such as are found in all stories transplanted to new settings.

whole last year of the king's absence. The watchman, impatient of his task and disposed to regard it as an absurd effect of feminine eagerness or imagination, was for this very reason the less disposed to talk of it, and had never connected it, as he had no apparent reason to do, with that conviction about his mistress which he shared with the rest of the world<sup>1</sup>.

Such was the situation in Argos, when 'about the setting of the Pleiads', by our calendar in the month of November, Troy was at last taken<sup>2</sup>. The occurrence of the event at this season was the beginning of the conspirators' good fortune. The seas were closed. Even in the historic times of ancient Hellas few voyages were undertaken in the winter; and according to poetical tradition no one after the 'setting of the Pleiads' expected to sail at all. Ordinary communication being thus suspended, the party preparing for the attack had the full advantage of their preparation. What precisely were their arrangements for obtaining information respecting the army does not appear in the play, nor was it at all necessary (the story being known) that it should. There would be no insuperable difficulty in getting information, when to be the first informed was a matter of life or death. To bring any exhibition of the means within the time covered by the action upon the stage would have been difficult, and useless. For the purpose of the play it suffices that information was obtained: and this much is exhibited clearly enough. We have already seen that Clytaemnestra, at the very moment of receiving, as she pretends, the first news of the triumph, is acquainted not only with the outrages since committed in Troy by the victorious army, but with the disaster at sea which they have suffered in consequence<sup>3</sup>.

Once more, the reckless and cruel pride of Agamemnon had betrayed him to his ruin. Not content with the stern vengeance which the justice of Hellenic war would have sanctioned, he had utterly ravaged and literally destroyed the captive city, sparing not even the sacred places<sup>4</sup>. It was probably not unnoticed by the narrator, that by this brutality and sacrilege the Greek army also destroyed the last possibility of remaining where they were till a more favourable season, and forced themselves to tempt the risks of the winter passage even while they forfeited the

<sup>1</sup> See the prologue, in which the relevant points in the situation of the Watchman are given with skill and force.

<sup>2</sup> *v.* 817.

<sup>3</sup> *vv.* 332—362.

<sup>4</sup> *vv.* 353 foll., 530 foll. etc. The

attribution of these sentiments to heroic antiquity is of course an anachronism; and the Herald is made by Aeschylus to express contrary sentiments, but in such a way as to condemn them even while he utters.

protection of heaven. The neighbouring country they had already eaten up<sup>1</sup>. They set sail at any rate, and fared as they had deserved. One fearful night of storm scattered the armament to the winds: and at sunrise the 'destroyer of Ilum' found himself, like Xerxes at sunset, 'a sovereign of the seas without a fleet'<sup>2</sup>.

By this disaster the cause of the conspirators, hitherto almost desperate, was advanced to a fair chance of success. But the final enterprise was still very perilous. The king might have escaped. If he returned, the queen and her lover could triumph only by destroying him, which, if they declared themselves before he came, they would certainly not do without a bloody and doubtful contest against his veteran soldiers and those who would rally round his person. Completing therefore their plans to suit the new situation they waited still a short while for the event. When the moment<sup>3</sup> should arrive, the signal from Mount Arachnaeus was to announce to those in the secret that their accomplices were ready. Fortune stood by them still, so far at least as that the king's ship, which by what seemed a happy miracle had survived the storm, was the first of the survivors to reach Argos. Still more propitious was the hour of arrival. It was in the dead of the winter night that this remnant of the great host came into the bay<sup>4</sup>. By none but those in the plot was such an arrival expected, and they only were upon the watch. The news of the king's approach was instantly carried to the neighbouring eastern hills, and it was still night when the watchman from the palace saw the beacon upon Mount Arachnaeus, and carried to his mistress the news, as he supposed, that Troy had fallen, in reality that the king had come, that Aegisthus was ready, and that she and their partizans throughout the Argolid (for the light could be seen far and wide) were to act as had been pre-arranged<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> v. 133.

<sup>2</sup> v. 1226.

<sup>3</sup> The story named the very night. It was the last of the year. That this was so will be seen by comparing the language of the watchman at the opening with the expression of the herald at his first entrance, *δεκάρω σε φέργει τῷδ' ἀφικόμεν ἔτος on this tenth dawn of a year* (v. 509). It is an addition to the picturesque impressiveness of the circumstances that the day of the murder was a specially solemn day of religious rejoicing. Clytaemnestra also remembers the season, when she compares the return of a husband to the relief of a beneficent change in the weather (vv. 957—963)

It will be noticed that, while the other seasons are cited in the aorist tense of generality and associated with husbands in general, the 'coming in winter' is referred to Agamemnon personally and described in the present tense. The interval between the fall of Troy and the arrival would thus be something over a month, not at all too much for the repose of the army, the destruction of the city, the preparations for departure, the voyage up to the storm, and the bringing of the king's 'bare hull' from the point to which it was carried back to Argos.

<sup>4</sup> The arrangement of the circumstances here is exceedingly skilful. The

The plot now to be executed had three objects, all familiar in the perpetual conspiracies and revolutions of Hellas, first to separate the king from his soldiers and murder him, before his friends could repair to him or open his eyes; secondly to secure the fortress, and thirdly to capture the principal persons of the loyal party. Given the extraordinary circumstances, this was now a hopeful project, though, as the sequel shows, by no means certain yet. Upon the report of the signal the queen at once sent out messengers announcing that she had received great news, and ordering a general feast in honour of the occasion, thus quieting and diverting the minds of all who were not better informed. At the same time she summoned the king's chief friends, the elders of the city, who in their anxiety at this nocturnal alarm and their eagerness for explanation were but too ready to come<sup>1</sup>. On reaching the fortress and the place of council, which lay as usual before the palace doors<sup>2</sup>, they waited for some time, as the queen, whose object was to detain and to mystify them for the necessary interval, was in no hurry to satisfy their curiosity. It was day-break when at length she appeared and in answer to their enquiry as to her news informed them that Troy had fallen that very night.<sup>3</sup> It had been foreseen that some explanation must be offered, and this particular falsehood had the double advantage of tallying with the belief of the watchman and of removing all apparent need for immediate action of any kind. One question could not be escaped, by what means the intelligence had come; and the queen, with an eloquence which might almost persuade her auditors, traced for them the imaginary links between the visible beacon on Mount Arachnaeus and the king's beacon upon Mount Ida at Troy<sup>3</sup>. It is true that in fabricating this story she betrayed a misconception of the region described, such as might be expected in a queen of Argos in the heroic times. Nor were her auditors contented. Though they

one chance for Aegisthus and Clytemnestra was that they should strike *immediately* on the king's arrival. Every hour that he passed in communication with his subjects must make the queen's position more perilous and her success more improbable. It is manifest that the situation given by Aeschylus is just one, perhaps the only one, in which by vigilance the conspirators might have several hours of clear advantage. The dramatist probably assumed, as he does in the *Suppliants*, that the landing-place for 'Argos' was in ancient times uninhabited.

<sup>1</sup> *v.* 270 implies that the elders had been sent for. But to repair to the castle would (as they say *v.* 267) have been their impulse. It is evident here and everywhere that, though suspecting or knowing the queen's infidelity, they have not the least glimpse of her treason.

<sup>2</sup> *v.* 523.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Platt (article above cited) calls attention to the deceptive beacon of Nauplius as another incident of the *Néstoroi*, which may have suggested the attribution of this stratagem to Clytemnestra.



had not sufficient knowledge to expose the fraud, the mere circumstances were such as inevitably to prompt suspicion. They tried to probe the evidence. But the queen had taken care to surround herself with some of those in her secret; and by their professions of belief and confidence she was enabled to evade enquiry<sup>1</sup>. She added a few words suitable to the supposed circumstances and withdrew.

All this time her partizans in the country, favoured by the darkness and their knowledge of the facts, were using their advantage. One party had hastened to the landing-place to receive the king and his companions, and were now already on their way thence to the castle, a distance of some miles, conducting him, his soldiers, and his captive Cassandra as in triumph<sup>2</sup>. Others were assembling in and at the fortress itself, while Aegisthus with his band was descending from the hills, ready to push forward at the last moment. It was no doubt one of the merits in the 'combination' upon which he prided himself, that personally he ran scarcely any risk at all, even in the event of failure, still quite possible, as was soon to be seen.

Left to their own reflexions, the seniors could not fail to perceive, even with such light as they had, the weakness of the evidence laid before them. They remembered the state of the country and felt vaguely uneasy. It was possible certainly that Troy was really taken, but much more likely, considering all things, that the queen was the victim of some imposture or delusion, which would soon be exposed<sup>3</sup>. They were in this mood when they perceived signs of the king's company approaching in the distance, and at the same moment arrived one who by his appearance seemed likely to know the truth. The king had sent forward a herald.

This incident, probable as it was and not to be prevented, was no part of the conspirators' design, and extremely dangerous to them. With the first words of the herald, the queen's whole story fell to the ground. Here was the crisis. If the elders had been sagacious, prompt, and bold, if, putting together all that they knew, they had argued from it to a remote consequence and acted instantly upon the inference, they and the king might perhaps yet have been saved. But criminal plots would seldom or never succeed, were it not for the weakness or error of those concerned to prevent them. And in this case the default was certainly pardonable. The queen could not be altogether

<sup>1</sup> v. 363.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Greek 'hypothesis', the king enters in a chariot, Cassandra and some of the spoil in a

second chariot. This is possibly a genuine piece of theatrical tradition.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 481—493.



right, not right at all as to the beacon-message. But so the elders had already presumed. And what did it matter, when as to what seemed after all the main fact, she was now confirmed? Troy was really conquered; the king was come; and the queen's wild fancy about the beacon might well be perfectly innocent. If indeed they had had time first to consider and then to put questions! But the herald, mad with rapture, was in no mood to catch hints. While they were fumbling with vague suggestions of danger at home, he had darted off again upon the topic of his sufferings; and before they could recover the subject the queen was upon them and had promptly dismissed the herald with a message of welcome to his master<sup>1</sup>.

The elders made indeed an effort to detain him by a question as to the safety of Menelaus, who had not been mentioned, a most unfortunate question, as the reply to it necessarily disclosed the destruction of the fleet, and by this news they were sufficiently distracted from more opportune reflexions until the king's arrival. The king arrived, with the companions of his voyage and their escort, and the success of the plot was almost assured.

The king arrived at the fortress, and his loyal friends saw with surprise, that the triumphant crowd by which he, his soldiers, and they were now surrounded, seemed to consist of the very men whom they had most reason to suppose disaffected. So striking was this, that even in the moment of welcome they could not but remark upon it resentfully, and warn the king not to be deceived by this show of unanimous rejoicing<sup>2</sup>. Agamemnon, putting their hint to previous reports<sup>3</sup>, understood them perfectly. Indeed he had returned full of anger against his subjects and of suspicion against his wife, and spoke as if it had been his express object to aid the conspirators, by aggrrieving any waverers among their party, or any loyalists who on the way from the sea to the castle had joined the company or were otherwise accidentally present.

<sup>1</sup> The brief conversation between the elders and the herald (*vv.* 543—555), the manner in which by their hesitation and his impatience the minute is lost, is an admirable stroke of dramatic art. Equally good is the dexterity and presence of mind shown by the queen at her re-entrance (*v.* 592). Here the slip of a word might have been fatal. If she referred to the supposed message from Troy, she risked refutation by the herald; if she was seen to avoid the subject, she ran still more risk from the suspicion of the elders

What she actually says is so adroitly turned, that while she seems to treat the matter with simple frankness, there is not a word which could suggest to the uninformed herald that there had been anything remarkable in her interpretation of the beacon which she mentions. To relish this kind of linguistic skill was a speciality of the Attic audience. It is the essence of their famous 'irony'.

<sup>2</sup> *vv.* 774—800.

<sup>3</sup> *v.* 811.

He and the gods of Argos had won a glorious triumph; but he had been ill served abroad and ill served at home, and so the offenders should find to their cost. Not a word of thanks, not a word, even after the wide-spread calamity just announced, of compassion<sup>1</sup>. Nothing could better lead up to the final stroke prepared by Clytaemnestra.

Advancing from the palace, she addressed her husband in a strain of extravagant and rapturous adulation, and then, bidding her attendants to strew rich tapestries over the approach, invited him to accept in the presence of the assembly the signs of that adoration which befitted the conqueror of Troy. Agamemnon, in great anger, replied to the address with a stern rebuke, and would gladly have escaped the malicious honour. But the queen by insistence and almost by violence compelled him to proceed, all the multitude beholding his act and many not aware of his reluctance. Thus with the symbol and show of an Asiatic tyrant did the victim of the new tyranny pass finally into the toils<sup>2</sup>.

The fate of Cassandra, though of immense importance in the tragedy, not only for its own pathos but as giving another direction to the compassion which would otherwise have centred, contrary to the purpose, upon the murdered king, is to the mere machinery of the story insignificant<sup>3</sup>. She perished with her enslaver and possessor, whose death was now near and inevitable. When he had gone within, his soldiers departed or dispersed through the fortress, and the throng broke up. But the elders, already unconscious prisoners, had no mind to go away. The strange events of the morning had produced in them, though they could not seize the clue, a vague but invincible sense of danger. Already repenting their reticence and consoling themselves as best they could with the hope of the feeble that 'something will intervene', they waited in perplexity to see what would happen<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 801—845.

<sup>2</sup> Surely it is impossible to reconcile this scene with the supposition, that Agamemnon had no suspicion of his wife's honour. What other motive could explain his brutality? He gives her no greeting, he will not even mention her title or her name. His language is full of insinuation. It is the daring and above all the resources of Clytaemnestra, which are unsuspected by Agamemnon, not her unfaithfulness. The sarcastic *ἀπολογία* *μὲν εἶπας ἐκβῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ* *μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέλειπας*, the husband's sole reply to his wife's affectionate greeting after a separation of ten years, is described by Enger as 'a

mild reproof'. If this is mildness, what would be severity?

Whether in the end Agamemnon willingly consents to the use of the tapestry may be questioned. See Appendix R. My impression is that his mind is unchanged. The other view seems to prevail. But the question is of little importance. The tapestry is a mere detail, introduced chiefly for spectacular effect.

<sup>3</sup> See the last words of Cassandra (*vv.* 1326—1329), which expressly declare the part which she plays in the economy of the piece.

<sup>4</sup> *vv.* 966—1018. Perhaps no passage in the play is more completely irrecon-

What happened was this. In the palace the king found all in readiness both for sacrifice and lustration, for which preparation the festivities commanded in the morning had furnished a pretext<sup>1</sup>. He went, as custom commanded, to bathe before the ceremony. Clytaemnestra, eager for the delight of taking her revenge with her own hand, had marked for herself this moment. She had even descended to plan the details of the bath so as to increase the helplessness of the victim. There with an axe<sup>2</sup> she slew him, and his councillors, wrought by the agony of the foreseeing Cassandra to a paralysing terror, learnt his fate and theirs from his dying cry.

For now at last they began to realize the situation, and saw that the adulterers and their adherents had struck down not only the king, but with him the liberties of Argos<sup>3</sup>. Resistance was impossible. The fortress was in the hands of the conspirators, the remnant of the king's army entrapped and overpowered, the country surprised, and the loyal without a leader, the young heir Orestes being absent and the elders themselves in the power of the enemy. Among the people, between the victory and the loss of the fleet, more hearts had perhaps been lost than gained. Nay, the elders themselves were forced to confess that, of the chief conspirators, Clytaemnestra at least had a foul wrong and a presentable cause, nay, even that their own cause was not clear, for what had they done to save the innocent Iphigenia? To the name of Iphigenia the queen instantly appealed, and the councillors could not but allow that as between her, the mother, and them, in some sort the slayers, it was a doubtful case. Thus does Aeschylus moralize at once both the personal and the public aspects of his story<sup>4</sup>.

But whatever compunction even the friends of Agamemnon might feel in the presence of Clytaemnestra gave way to pure rage when Aegisthus, entering the fortress with his ruffians and joining the queen where she stood with her defenders around her and the dead bodies at her feet, exulted in his 'just restoration' from exile<sup>5</sup> and boasted the

citable with the current theory of the story than this. If Aegisthus is living, by the queen's permission, in Argos, what can the elders possibly mean by speaking of their 'inexplicable fears'? Obviously on this supposition the danger of Agamemnon must be imminent and certain, and the elders, who do not warn him, are in fact nothing less than accessories to his death.

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 1040—41.

<sup>2</sup> On the weapon of Clytaemnestra see an essay by the late Prof. Warr, *Classical Review* xii. 348. Aeschylus seems to recognize both axe and sword, and probably follows a story in which both were actually employed.

<sup>3</sup> *v.* 1354, 1495—97, and the concluding scene *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *vv.* 1410 foll., 1554—1560 etc.

<sup>5</sup> *v.* 1607. The language of Aegisthus here would of itself suffice to show that

skill with which he had conducted the successful design. At the sight of the mercenaries<sup>1</sup> the friends of liberty, inflamed to madness, would even have provoked their death there and then, and Aegisthus, cruel as cowardly, would have taken their challenge. But the queen, more politic as well as less base, would not suffer her hostages to be massacred. Prisoners however they remained<sup>2</sup>, and thus, all power but that of the despots being dissolved, the land settled down under the adulterous tyranny until Orestes should come.

Thus, as the story was conceived at Athens in the fifth century, thus or somewhat thus was the imperial Agamemnon slain.

### 3. *The Structure of the Drama.*

We have now to show how the foregoing story, or a story like this in the main outline, was by Aeschylus shaped as a drama. The Byzantine story is condemned, first because it is absurd in itself, and next because, even if given, it still does not account for the construction and language of the play. The proof which we shall offer for the general truth (to no more than this ought any one in such a case to pretend) of our alternative hypothesis, is that it does explain and account for the drama with perfect simplicity.

But first it will be well to remind ourselves that it is a play of Aeschylus which we have before us, and to consider for a moment what Greek *drama* originally had been and, when Aeschylus took it in hand, was in its essence and main conception still. It is a familiar fact, that dialogue, the substance of a play as we conceive it, was first introduced into the drama by Aeschylus himself. Indeed to Aristophanes it seemed that the whole of 'tragedy', as a distinct style of literature, ought to be referred to Aeschylus as the first inventor<sup>3</sup>; and whatever the value of this opinion, which with our little evidence we should be slow to dispute, we know that the earliest rudiments of literary tragedy could be traced no higher than Aeschylus' immediate predecessors. But what was the stock upon which, whether by Aeschylus, by Phrynichus, or if it was so by Thespis, the literary tragedy was grafted? Whence came the name which was for some time bestowed upon the

he comes from abroad and now for the first time appears publicly in Argos.

<sup>1</sup> The character of Aegisthus' followers is sufficiently shown by *v.* 1638.

<sup>2</sup> *vv.* 1656, 1659.

<sup>3</sup> ὁ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας  
ρήματα σεμνὰ | καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν  
λῆρον, says the Chorus of the *Frogs*  
(1006).



whole? What was *drama*? For whoever may first have used the word *drama* in its present sense, neither Aeschylus nor Thespis invented, or is supposed to have invented, the thing. Drama, as the name implies, it not properly a form of written literature at all, but something far older and more natural. It is *action*, the presentation of a picture, fact, or story by movement and pantomime. It exists or has existed everywhere for ages without any literature at all, and has often attained a high development without even any regular verbal composition. When indeed literature takes possession of it, the literary element by its deeper interest and greater permanence will surely conquer the rest, and in Athens during the fifth century this process, like all others, went on with amazing rapidity, so that we soon arrive at a species of 'drama', such as the *Medea* of Euripides or the *Oedipus at Colonus* of Sophocles, which is not essentially an 'action' or performance at all, but a thing to be heard or read. The name in fact had already become, as it now notoriously is, a misnomer. But it was not a misnomer when it was given, and it is significant that the art which Aeschylus took up and turned into tragedy called itself 'performance' or 'action'. If we compare what was written, in ages when the book-drama was familiar, about the early dramatists of Athens, with what was said of them at the time when they were still remembered, we shall note a marked difference. We speak, and Suidas might have spoken, of Phrynichus as composing a tragedy on the taking of Miletus. But Herodotus does not say so. He says that he 'made a performance' or 'action' of it<sup>1</sup>. Aristophanes mentions Phrynichus often, and tells us that even in his own day the songs of Phrynichus were still the favourites of the older generation. But nowhere, I believe, does Aristophanes, or any one near that time, speak of the δράματα of Phrynichus as a kind of literature, which existed or could exist in a manuscript, like the *Andromeda* of Euripides, which Dionysus read on board ship before the battle of Arginusae<sup>2</sup>. He speaks of them as things which had been. 'Phrynichus', says Agathon to Mnesilochus in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, 'whose work you have yourself heard, was fine in person and fine in dress, and that is why his *actions* were fine too<sup>3</sup>'. Phrynichus, as he appears in the allusions of Aristophanes, is properly an artist in *pantomime*, inventor of gestures, figures, and movements, and author of popular songs; and the same character is given by all the first-hand evidence to the predecessors of Aeschylus.

Now as even the greatest innovator does not change everything in a

<sup>1</sup> G. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Frogs* 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Thesm.* 167.



moment, it is important to remember all this when we come to the work of Aeschylus himself. When we speak of 'reading a drama' we are using an expression which to Aeschylus would probably have been unnatural. What lies before us is not the 'action' but the words that were to go with the action; and we have only to read them to see how much the manuscript implies which it does not directly express. Take for instance the *Seven against Thebes*, and read what the ancient editors offer as a list of the *dramatis personae*: 'Eteocles, Antigone, A spy, Ismene, Chorus of maidens, A herald.' These are the persons who speak or sing, and therefore attract the exclusive attention of the bookman, but they are a mere fraction of the performers required by the 'drama'. Besides the six champions who accompany Eteocles in the central scene, and without whose figures, dress, and behaviour the written dialogue could not be followed, we have a crowd of 'Cadmean citizens', upon whose playing, together with that of the maidens, would in performance depend the main effect both of the first scene and of the conclusion. It is they in fact, as much or more than the speakers, who conduct that 'action filled with the spirit of war' of which the Aristophanic Aeschylus speaks so proudly<sup>1</sup>. And this case is typical. The same applies in part to the *Choephoroi*, still more to the *Eumenides*, most of all to the *Supplices* and the *Persae*. In this last drama the poetry, for all its magnificence, is no more than a *libretto*. Except in the narrative of the battle, the literary element is nowhere independent and scarcely principal. The spectacular performance is the essence of the piece, of which a part, when divorced from the intended accessories, is scarcely readable. When Aeschylus in the *Frogs* vaunts himself to Dionysus upon the merits of the *Persae*, it is not the odes, the speeches, or even the thrilling narrative, which the name suggests to that typical representative of the Athenian theatre. What he recalls with pleasure is a striking pose of the performing company, a situation which has disappeared from the permanent literary form of the work, so that we actually do not now know where to place it<sup>2</sup>. In fact with the possible exception of the *Prometheus*, none of the extant plays of Aeschylus is a book-play, like the *Medea*, or the *Oedipus at Colonus*, or the dramatic poems of modern times. All are dramas proper, or representations in acting, and the *Agamemnon* is of the same type as the rest.

<sup>1</sup> δρᾶμα ποικίλως Ἄρεως μεστών. τοὺς ἔττ' ἐπὶ Θήβας, *Frogs* 1021.

<sup>2</sup> *Frogs* 1027 ἐχάρην γούν' ἡλικ' ἤκουσα + περὶ Δαρείου τεθνεώτος, ὁ χαρὸς δ' εὐθύς τῷ

χεῖρ' ὥδ' συγκρούσας εἶπεν, ἰανοί. There is some slight error in the text, but this is not here material.

## INTRODUCTION.

Even long after the time of Aeschylus, when drama as a purely literary type was fully established, and hundreds of tragedies were composed with scarce a hope of performance<sup>1</sup>, and when, as inevitably happened, the importance of the non-literary elements had relatively much declined, even then the part of the 'supers', to use the familiar term, was larger than a hasty reading of the text might lead us to suppose. I will give one striking example of this, where we are made more than commonly sensible of the stage 'crowd' by the fact that some of them, at a particular point in the action, are converted from mutes into singers. The scene in the *Hippolytus*, where the hero is denounced by Theseus, takes place, as the situation demands and the text shows, in the presence of many persons<sup>2</sup>, servants of the king, friends of Hippolytus, and so forth. It is followed by an ode, sung not by women only like most of the odes preceding, but by men and women in response, a fact which by a mere accident is visible in the text. The *strophe* speaks in the masculine, the *antistrophe* in the feminine, the second *strophe* in the masculine again: the second *antistrophe* does not happen to give grammatical evidence of sex, but is proved feminine by its substance. The text runs thus<sup>3</sup>:

στρ. α'. ἡ μέγα μοι τὰ θεῶν μελεδήμαθ', ὅταν φρένας ἔλθῃ  
 λύπας παραιρεῖ· σύνεσιν δέ τιν' ἐλπίδι κεύθων  
 λείπομαι ἔν τε τύχαις θνατῶν καὶ ἐν ἔργμασι λεύσσων κτλ.  
 ἀντ. α'. εἶθε μοι εὐξαμένα κτλ.  
 στρ. β'. οὐκέντι γὰρ καθαρὰν φρέν' ἔχω, τὰ παρ' ἐλπίδα λεύσσω κτλ.

This alternation of gender admits but one reasonable explanation, that these singers are what they declare themselves, men and women respectively. And since the play has a chorus of men (*v. 61*) as well as a chorus of women, and an excellent opportunity has just occurred for bringing the men upon the stage as part of the crowd, the combination is quite simple. But the case is a good warning how easily we may miss the action in a text without supplemental directions. It is by mere chance that the language here betrays a change which is of no small dramatic importance<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Frogs* 90 τραγῳδίας ποιῶντα πλεῖν ἢ μυρίας κτλ. It will be noticed that Aristophanes does not say δράματα. I believe he would even then have felt the word in this context to be impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Hipp.* 1083, 1098.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* 1102.

<sup>4</sup> The explanation of the *scholia*, that the masculine parts of the ode are spoken in the character of the poet, is more ingenious than rational. How could the same set of persons carry on a dialogue between themselves and another, and how should the author figure by this strange

And if this caution applies to the study of Euripides, it applies much more to Aeschylus. For between Aeschylus and Euripides, with the development of literary drama and the greater variety of written parts, the use of the mute players had much fallen off. 'In my plays' says the Aristophanean Euripides 'no one was left without a part; there were speeches for the lady, for the slave no less than the master, for the young girl and for the old woman too'. This is of course an exaggeration. There are silent persons in Euripides, not a few; we have just seen an example, and any one of his plays will furnish others. But the text of the dramatists fully corroborates the remark of Aristophanes taken generally. The drama of Sophocles and Euripides is primarily a drama of speeches; the silent players are generally unimportant. There are few instances, perhaps none, in Sophocles or Euripides, of such figures as the judges in the *Eumenides* or the champions in the *Septem*, whose action is of the highest importance and upon whose persons and bearing the full attention of the audience is directed, while yet they have nothing to say. A writer who took much thought for readers would not be likely to introduce such parts. In Aeschylus, as his text and the observation of Aristophanes unite in showing, it was otherwise; and in the interpretation of Aeschylus we must add to the caution required by our imperfect knowledge of his story the further caution imposed by the fact that we have to supply the action, and that this supplement was a far more important matter with the 'inventor of tragedy' than with his more purely literary successors. Perhaps this consideration is too little regarded. No one can suppose that the plays of Aeschylus were performed entirely by the personages who speak and a 'chorus', in the modern sense of the word, who sang. The supposition is absolutely inconsistent with the texts. But the rest of the company, merged in the general and proper designation of χορός<sup>2</sup>, receive little attention now that their action can no longer be seen and no stage-directions survive to represent it: and

deputation in his own play? The modern suggestion that the language in the masculine is 'more general' is scarcely true, and, if it were, would not explain why a woman should speak of herself in the masculine singular, or why the 'more general' and the 'more personal' language should alternate in strophe and antistrophe — Mr Murray, in his recent text, divides the ode between the two *Chori* as above suggested, 1903.

<sup>1</sup> *Frogs* 948 *ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἐπὶ παρῆκ' ἂν οὐδέν' ἀργόν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνὴ τέ μοι κτλ.* I give the reading of Lenting and Blaydes in preference to οὐδέν παρῆκ' ἂν ἀργόν MSS. The meaning in any case is the same, and is explained by the antithesis.

<sup>2</sup> We have no English term equivalent to the Greek χορός, which signifies 'a number of persons executing prescribed movements'.

this neglect, of little moment in the later poets, may well mislead us in the case of dramas composed when performance was still the main purpose and staple of the art. That there were not in some dramas of Aeschylus passages (if the word is applicable) of pure mime, of music and acting merely, such as are, or till very recently were, common upon the popular stage of Italy, is by no means clear: from Aristophanes, as well as from the probabilities of the case, we should rather suppose that there were such passages, nor is the text without confirming indications, as will in one case presently be seen. At all events the element of action was still essential, and the picture was still presented essentially by means of performance.

It is so presented in the *Agamemnon*. The 'plot' of the drama, a plot both in the theatrical and in the more familiar sense of the word, is performed before the audience and we cannot properly read the written tragedy without figuring to ourselves that performance, separate from which it was never conceived by the author. The 'crowd', chiefly those partisans of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra without whose support their triumph would be visibly impossible, are naturally not for the most part provided with speeches, any more than the followers of Agamemnon, or the soldiers led by Aegisthus. But some of these persons, as representatives of them, do speak, and in three places at least, one very important, the mediaeval editors, by narrowing their conception of the *χορός* to the elders who sing the regular odes, have found and left pieces of the text unintelligible<sup>1</sup>. For the most part however their part is performance only, but that performance is necessary both to the picture and to the understanding of what is said. As in the foregoing story the action of the piece is anticipated, the formal description of it shall now be made as brief as possible. A list of the *dramatis personae* and a summary view of the divisions will be found in Appendix III.

The scene represents the palace of Agamemnon in the fortress of Argos. Before the entrance are statues of the gods, among them Zeus and Apollo, and the place of council with its seats. The time is night. A watchman is seen upon the roof. *Prologue* (1—39) The watchman explains the supposed purpose of his employment. The beacon appears and he gives the alarm within. He expresses his

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 363, 618—621, 1522—1523. See also *vv.* 506, 631, 1649—1653. It was also suggested, as an alternative, that one of the army from Troy might be the speaker of *vv.* 1625—1627. This how-

ever, making *five* speakers, not *four*, in the final scene, would not agree with the important evidence from Pollux, given in Appendix III.



delight in a dance (after *v.* 33), by way of prelude to the general rejoicings. Exit.

What here follows is not clearly indicated, but it can scarcely be supposed that the elders, who have still to be summoned (*v.* 270), enter at once. The text presumes some interval, and it is not likely that the action was arranged so as to contradict it. We may conjecture that the rousing of the palace, the sending out of the messengers, the kindling of fires upon the altar or altars before the entrance, and the rejoicing of the household, were typically represented in action with music, for which the words of the watchman (*φρουρὸν χορεύουσαι*) seem to prepare the way. Enger, in his *Introduction*, makes, if I understand him rightly, some such suggestion (p. xviii). See also my edition of Euripides' *Ion*, Introduction pp. lix—lxxii, *On the Parodos*.

Enter the Elders (*Chorus I*), singing first a *march* (40—103) and then the *First Stasimon* or regular ode in responsion (104—268).

The great length of this ode is not an arbitrary or accidental circumstance. It calls attention to the delay of Clytemnestra in appearing, which is a proper part of the plot<sup>1</sup>.

The elders state the reason of their coming. They recall how the war was commenced with ambiguous omens, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and the threatening prophecies thereupon. Doubtful as to the meaning of this nocturnal alarm, they have come, as invited by the queen, to assure themselves of the safety of the fortress.

*First Scene in Dialogue* (*vv.* 270—378). Clytemnestra, with Conspirators (*Chorus II*), comes from the palace. She informs the elders that Troy has been taken during the night, and the news announced by a chain of beacons, of which she gives an imaginary description. By the assistance of her followers she eludes further enquiry, and retires.

From this time forward the elders are carefully watched, as the situation of the plot requires, by those in the queen's interest, who continue to assemble. The proceedings of the elders, and even their actual words, are reported within the palace. This, which in the theatre would be manifest of itself, is accidentally indicated to us by the text in the next scene, when Clytemnestra makes a pointed allusion to the doubt which, during her absence, they have expressed as to the truth of her information. This deserves notice as an instructive example of the difficulties presented by a stage-play stripped of the necessary directions for action<sup>2</sup>. It is

<sup>1</sup> As to the apostrophe addressed to her at *v.* 83 see note there.

<sup>2</sup> I submit that the above is the only natural way of solving the question which the more careful commentators justly raise. "*καὶ τίς μ' ἐλάττω*" clearly refers to the incredulity of the chorus (485). How would K. know of this, it is asked, as she was not there? The answer is

that the chorus only expresses the general feeling of the citizens, which she can naturally be supposed to learn". (Sidd-  
wick on *v.* 595.) This answer seems to be an evasion. The question is not what other persons may have shared the feelings of the elders, but how did Clytemnestra know what feelings the elders had expressed? It is to their expressed in-

scarcely necessary to point out, what opportunities are given in this scene and those that follow for effective contrasts of action between those who are in the secret and those who are not.

*Second Stasimon* (vv. 379—480). The elders, avoiding the topic of the alleged victory, pursue their reflexions upon the sin of Paris, and all the misery thereby caused to the princes and people of Argos, misery of which the end is yet obscure. The people are weary of their sufferings, and their anger, malignantly fomented, threatens the gravest danger; nor can the friends of the king appeal with a clear conscience to the favour of heaven. They fear an insurrection. Triumph and conquest they would gladly exchange for the security of their own freedom<sup>1</sup>.

Their doubts still increasing, the elders in a brief *lyrical dialogue* are discussing not without contempt the alleged evidence for the victory, when they observe the approach of the herald and other signs of an arrival. Their hope that 'what is now happily believed may be happily increased', is 'echoed in a very different sense by those to whom it is addressed' (vv. 481—507).

The dramatic effect of the situation here depends on the presence face to face of the elders and the objects of their suspicion.

*Second Scene* (vv. 508—685). The Herald, the Elders, Conspirators, and Clytaemnestra. The herald relates the destruction of Troy, the arrival of the king, and the storm.

The queen is summoned from the palace and comes hastily to put an end to the dangerous conversation which has commenced. The abruptness of her entrance and opening (v. 592) is accommodated to the situation. The favourable comment upon her speech (vv. 618—619) must be assigned to one of her party, as is shown by the reply from the other side. See note there.

*Third Stasimon* (vv. 686—773). The far-reaching consequences of crime are suggested by the fatal disaster just described. 'Again the application is apparently to Paris; again we feel that the sin of Agamemnon is present in the thought'.

*March accompanying the Entrance of the King* (vv. 774—800).

Here the effect of the scene depends entirely on the spectacular conditions. The king in his chariot, Cassandra, either with him or (according to the tradition) in a second chariot with spoils, and his following enter, accompanied by a crowd who seem to be giving them a triumphant welcome and expressing their sympathy

credulity that, as Mr Sidgwick says, she clearly refers.

<sup>1</sup> I have already noticed that the latter part of this ode is of the utmost im-

portance as giving to us now some of the essential facts of the supposed situation.

(v. 781) with the sufferings which they have undergone. The elders, from their knowledge of the persons, cannot but suspect the honesty of the demonstration. It is this startling suspicion, as already noticed, which dictates the strange topics of their first address. At the close of the march, the scene is so arranged, we may presume, as to suggest a multitude entirely filling it and extending beyond it. This is one of the many passages of Athenian drama which might be cited against the view, formerly prevalent but now shaken by the archaeological discoveries of Dr Dorpfeld and others, that in the Greek theatre of the fifth century there was a high and narrow separate stage (*λογεῖον*) for the speakers as distinct from the rest of the company. For such a theatre such a scene as the text here suggests could scarcely have been composed. Compare the final scenes of the *Choephori* and the *Eumenides*.

*Third Scene* (vv. 801—965). Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra. The king enters the palace, commending Cassandra, who remains without, to a kind reception. Clytaemnestra follows.

See the preceding narrative. Here also the general action is important, particularly as to the effect of Agamemnon's haughty and threatening address, and of the invidious honours which he is compelled to accept. The device of the tapestry in particular, the purpose of which is intelligible only in its relation to the feelings of the crowd represented on the stage, would have occurred only to a dramatist who considered his whole company not less than his principal personages. When the king and queen have withdrawn into the palace with their immediate attendants, the crowd of returned soldiers, conspirators, and others would for the most part disperse, the king's companions still watched by their pretended friends. The general appearance of the action is easily imagined, though it would be useless to attempt exact description. During these proceedings is sung the

*Fourth Stasimon* (vv. 966—1018). The friends of the king, though unable to fix their suspicions, are more anxious than ever.

*Fourth Scene*. Clytaemnestra, the Elders, Cassandra. Clytaemnestra orders Cassandra, who remains still in the chariot, to come within and join the intended sacrifice. Cassandra, whose appearance is that 'of a wild beast new-taken', pays no attention, and the queen instantly withdraws.

In this brief incident the chief point is the violent impatience of the queen, who here and here only loses her dignity and presence of mind. In truth her act in summoning Cassandra at this critical minute is an imprudent concession to her appetite for revenge (see v. 1448). Note also that, being now sure of her triumph, she can scarcely refrain from a sneer at the victims of her deception (vv. 1040—1042).

Cassandra, by her prophetic power, in a series of visions sees the history of the Atridae, the crime of Atreus, and the murder of Agamemnon now imminent. Declaring his fate and her own to be inevitable, at last in despair she enters the palace.

"In this astonishing scene Aeschylus seems to have touched the limit of what speech can do to excite pity and terror. The cries come forth to Apollo, repeated louder and more wildly as the inspiration grows upon her; she smells the 'scent of murder on the walls' of the bloody house to which she comes as a prisoner, and visions rise, first of the past wickedness, then of the present; and lastly she bewails in songs of 'searching and melting beauty' her own piteous fate. The chorus sustain the part of the Argive citizen, sympathetic and horror-struck, and finally bewildered and overpowered by her clearer and clearer prophecies of the bloody deeds that are imminent". (Sidgwick.) Of the relation of this scene to the general effect of the play I have spoken already in the narrative. It should be observed however that here again the general action is essential to the comprehension of the spoken scene. Critics have objected (not unnaturally, if the play be read without reference to the action) to the helpless behaviour of the elders at the moment of the murder; and in fact long before this, as they are alarmed if not convinced (*vv.* 1212) by Cassandra, their hesitation is only to be explained by a manifest impossibility of acting to any effect. But in truth they appear helpless because they are so and know it. From the previous incidents and the present situation of affairs it is plain that, if the king is truly in danger, then also they themselves are prisoners. They would not have been suffered either to enter the palace or to leave the fortress. It is not at all unnatural that old men in such a situation should be utterly paralysed, but it is by the action more than by the words that the situation is portrayed. (Prof. Tucker, in the *Classical Review* vi. 340, rejects the general assumption that the elders do show weakness. That they show also signs of spirit is true; but surely the very notion of a formal debate at such a moment is inconsistent with ability or intention to do anything.)

*Fifth Scene* (*vv.* 1342—1576). Clytaemnestra, the Elders, etc. The dying cry of Agamemnon is heard within, and while the elders are still pretending to consider the situation, the palace is thrown open and discloses Clytaemnestra standing over the bodies of her two victims.

From the language of the elders (*vv.* 1353—1356), it is evident that other signs, besides the king's cry, declare the triumph of the plot. In fact the stage, in Greek parlance the *orchestra*, rapidly fills again with the exultant crowd and the indignant few (see *vv.* 1400—1411). As to the remnant of fighting-men returned from Troy, we are manifestly to suppose them surprised and slain (as in Homer) at the moment of Agamemnon's murder. In an archaic Greek state a ship-load of veterans, if allowed fair play, would have been masters of the situation, and the tyrants dared not spare them, if they would. It is this which explains and justifies the prominence and pathos given to the character of the herald, whose part is in every way superior to that of the king. From his entrance to his exit (see *vv.* 508—512, 572—577, 655—657, 676—677) his language is ominous. And in truth he is actually near to death, and is thus a tragic character as much as the rest.

A curious question arises here as to the exact manner in which the king's death is represented. Modern readers infer from the text that the interior of the palace is not shown to the audience until Agamemnon and Cassandra are lying dead; and the inference seems natural though not necessary. On the other hand the Greek hypothesis says expressly that 'Aeschylus is peculiar in representing Agamemnon as



killed upon the stage, *ὁδῶς δὲ Ἀλσχύλος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐπὶ σκηνῇ ἀναιρεῖσθαι ποιεῖ* : and as the text does not suggest this, it is one of the few points in the hypothesis which might appear to rest on some independent tradition. The truth is that our knowledge of ancient scenery is hardly such as to warrant positive assertion on details of this kind.

Clytaemnestra appears and fiercely justifies her act. She describes the manner of the king's death with cruel detail, answers invective with invective, and declares her reliance upon her partizans and upon the loyalty of Aegisthus. She even forces the lamenting elders to admit that as between her and her husband the justice of the case is doubtful (*v.* 1569). But a fresh explosion of feeling is produced by the entrance of Aegisthus himself, with his band (*λοχίται v.* 1650).

The meeting of the triumphant lovers is left entirely to action, as is necessary. Conversation between them at such a moment and in such a presence would have been altogether out of place. From the fact that Aegisthus' speech is immediately preceded by a speech of Clytaemnestra it is clear that she does not leave the stage.

*Finale.* Aegisthus, Clytaemnestra, etc. Aegisthus claims to have merely procured his 'just restoration' to Argos (*v.* 1608), while avenging upon the son of Atreus the wrongs of his father and his own.

That Aegisthus does not come from the palace, but on the contrary has just entered the country, is shown not only by his address, but by the interval which occurs between the achievement of the murder and his appearance. Consistent in his 'prudent' plan, he does not enter the fortress till the deed is actually done and all is safe.

This is too much for the friends of the king. Stung by their taunts Aegisthus calls on his ruffians to commence a massacre, when the queen, with hypocritical clemency, interposes to prevent an impolitic cruelty which might yet have endangered the success. 'Less', she says, 'than blood-shed will serve the occasion' (*vv.* 1654—1664). Accordingly the elders are led away to imprisonment; and with this final triumph of Clytaemnestra the scene comes to an end.

#### 4. *Critical Remarks.*

I hope I am not rash in thinking that the preceding exposition of the play does in its general outline fulfil the conditions; that is to say, the story is itself intelligible, and it explains why the drama is constructed as it is, and what are the relations of its parts to one another. As to the details I do not pretend to offer more than conjecture; on the

contrary I maintain that this is the utmost which, in details, the state of our information permits, and that by better use of the materials others may, and certainly will, improve upon the suggestions here made. The outline will, I believe, be accepted after time for reflection as right; and I will even go so far as to say that the play would never in modern times of good literary judgment have been interpreted otherwise, if we had not allowed the imagination of the eleventh century, criticized and for the most part contemptuously rejected on other points, to rule us unquestioned upon this. It is not in the least surprising that the annotators of the Medicean MS should have lost or corrupted the genuine tradition here as elsewhere, and that they should be wrong about the story, as they are wrong more often than not about the language and the meaning of the poet. Indeed if there is any department of criticism in which the scholars of that time are manifestly incompetent, it is the artistic part. We owe our whole knowledge of Aeschylus to their diligence; but we do not and must not obey them<sup>1</sup>. There is ancient authority, very far better than that of the existing MSS., for part at least, an important part, of the interpretation here put forward (see Appendix III.).

But indeed the question is not one of authority at all. On no authority, under the author himself, should it be believed, that any man conceived such a plot as the Byzantine editors attribute to Aeschylus, and if Aeschylus could say that such actually was his conception, we with the *Agamemnon* before us might well reply, that accident had singularly improved his design. As it is, the text of the play is the sole and sufficient authority for the poet's intention.

Nor is it ground for demur, that the Medicean hypothesis has continued to pass current during the two centuries at most (we might largely reduce the time) during which Aeschylus from a literary point of view has been efficiently studied in the West. Even the fifteenth

<sup>1</sup> In this matter, as in many others, the MS. commentary actually preserves traces of the truth, though not understood by those who copied them down. On the first line it is observed in the Medicean scholia that *θεράπειαν Ἀγαμέμνονος ὁ προσλογισόμενος, οὐχὶ ὁ ἐνὸς Αἰγίσθου ταχθεὶς*. The comparison, as is noted by Hermann and others, is between the Watchman in Aeschylus, and the Watchman in Homer (see pp. xxviii, xxxiii). Now according

to the story of Aeschylus as told in the Medicean hypothesis, there is no resemblance whatever between the functions of these persons, and the comparison is pointless. But as a fact their functions are exactly analogous: in Aeschylus as in Homer the 'year-long watch' represents the duration of Aegisthus' plot, of which the Homeric watchman is a conscious instrument, the Aeschylean an unconscious.

century murmured<sup>1</sup>: and it would indeed have been strange, if the readers of Shakespeare and of succeeding dramatists had accepted such a plot with satisfaction. But they never have so accepted it. On the contrary they have transmitted it with manifest discontent, actually concealing its absurdity, so far as possible, by artifice. If we add that until times within living memory the exponents of Aeschylus were necessarily and properly engrossed by the preliminary difficulties of language and grammar (Paley's edition was actually the first exception in English), we shall not accuse our instructors of adding much authority to a tradition which they would have been only too glad to disbelieve.

In reality the plot of the *Agamemnon* is perfectly coherent and natural. In one detail it is judiciously improbable. When, by the announcement of the herald, the queen's interpretation of the beacon is disproved, the elders would have acted prudently if they had questioned him on the subject, and communicated their own suspicions: and we may therefore call it in a certain sense improbable that they should act otherwise. This 'improbability', as nothing would have been easier than to avoid it, the dramatist must be supposed to have sought. And he had good reason. It would have been a gross violation of the true and vital probabilities of the case, and a great loss to the dramatic interest, if he had represented the design of Aegisthus as never running near to failure. Only by the favour of circumstances, and of human blindness or weakness for one circumstance, could a design so audacious succeed at all: and Aeschylus has wisely chosen that this ingredient of necessary chance shall not be concealed but exhibited.

In one other matter the dramatist has disregarded, not indeed probability (very far from it), but a certain expectation, which we, accustomed to the modern conditions of the stage, might have formed from the course of the play. A modern playwright, having to tell all his story for himself, would have thought it desirable, by way of accenting the construction and rounding off the development, to introduce, after the triumph of the plot, a plain description of the artifice by which it was conducted, or at least an allusion to it, such as appears in the *Choephori*. The absence of any such allusion in the *Agamemnon* (for the passing glance of Clytaemnestra in *v.* 1436 is not sufficient to

<sup>1</sup> Schol. in *Cod. Flor.* to *v.* 509 *τινὲς μέμφονται τῷ ποιητῇ ὅτι αὐθήμερον ἐκ τῆρας ποιεῖ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἤκοντας.*

suggest anything of itself) facilitated the error of the mediaeval editors and has made it more difficult of detection. But manifestly, in the matter of truth and nature, Aeschylus is right. In the first outbreak of anger and defiance neither victors nor vanquished would fail to discussing or describing the device by which the contest was lost and won. The first address of Aegisthus to his Argive supporters and subjects turns naturally upon what he alleges for the rights of his cause: and it is only because he is too violent and vain-glorious to govern his tongue, that he touches at all upon the inopportune topic of his stratagem (*v* 1609). Before a modern audience, who did not know the story, Aegisthus would necessarily have been made to narrate his plan and its success, although in real life he would not do so, simply lest some of the spectators should be left in the dark. Aeschylus, by the conditions of his art, was spared the necessity of this misrepresentation.

What points have been added to the story by the dramatist himself, we can scarcely guess and have little interest in knowing. But it is likely that those incidents, which would be effective on the stage only, were invented for the stage, and for this reason we may refer to this origin the whole apparatus of the king's entrance, including the laying of the tapestry, the whole vision of Cassandra, and perhaps also the *ἀπειρον ἀμφίβληστον*, in which at the last moment the victim is enfolded. This curious device is to the plot of the *Agamemnon* so unimportant, that if the play had survived alone, we might well have wondered why it is introduced. But the question is answered in the *Choephori*, where one of the best scenes is the exhibition of the garment by Orestes, after he has avenged the murder which it served to commit<sup>1</sup>. It is there used as Antony uses the robe of Caesar, and with similar dramatic effect. For the sake of this scene and of the closely connected reference in the *Eumenides* (*v*. 463), it is introduced and made prominent in the *Agamemnon*. It serves also, by its appearance in the sequel as evidence of the crime, to fix attention upon the part of Clytaemnestra, with whom only, and not with Aegisthus, the moral interest of the story is concerned. The stratagem of the beacon was, we may say, certainly not first introduced into the story by the tragedian. If it had been, it would not be presented as it is. Who was the inventor, it is useless to ask. Possibly some one not more deserving of remembrance than some of the romancers who supplied material to



Shakespeare. To the essential originality of the poet such questions are of course immaterial.

Indeed it would be a grave mistake to exaggerate the importance, in a literary aspect, of the whole subject which has been set forth, at great but I trust not unpardonable length, in this introduction. Undoubtedly the main purpose of the poet, or at any rate his chief value for us now, lies in things almost independent of his story, in the majesty and beauty of his language, in the bold delineation of character, and in the deep moral feeling with which the whole subject is coloured. To the temporary object of winning the prize, which we may guess that Aeschylus did not undervalue, the difference between an absurd and an effective plot would be vital: nor can it be thought indifferent to the mere reader, whether the beginning of the play has or has not any intelligible connexion with the middle and end of it. But I would not for my own sake leave the impression, that I have proportioned the topics to my estimate of their permanent significance. The story of the *Agamemnon*, once understood, might with justice to Aeschylus be stated and dismissed in a brief summary. The critical discussion of it is required only by the present state of the subject. It is however required now; and for this reason only I hope to be excused, if I seem unduly to neglect other matters of not less moment, upon which I have nothing to say which has not been excellently said before.

I would draw attention to an adverse criticism upon my view of the plot by Prof Lewis Campbell (*Classical Review* iv. 303), and would refer the reader also to further remarks of my own in the Introduction to my edition of Euripides' *Ion*, 'The Unity of Time'.

## 5. *The Text.*

The text of the *Agamemnon* depends mainly upon two mss. The *Mediceus* (M) should be regarded as the sole authority for those parts which it contains (*vv.* 1—322 and *vv.* 1051—1158). Only one ms. of any value, the *Florentinus* (f), contains the whole play, and for nearly one half of it (*vv.* 361—1050) this is necessarily the sole authority. One other ms., the *Farnesianus* (h), contains the whole play, but it is worthless. Its very numerous variations are, in the great majority of cases, manifestly conjectures upon a text derived from M. Before therefore any weight can be assigned to its variation in a particular place, it must appear that the reading cannot be merely conjectural,

that is, it must be such as the corrector could not have propounded for sense—a condition not easy to be fulfilled. All critics put the ms. very low, but the only logical course is to ignore it altogether. I have cited it only so far as seemed sufficient to show its character.

Two of the imperfect mss., *Marcianus Bessarionis* (a) and *Venetus* (g), include parts of the play not in M, the first a few lines (*vv.* 323—360), the second a large piece (*v.* 1159—the end), but neither gives much assistance which cannot be had from the *Florentinus*. The mss. are cited as in the apparatus of Wecklein (ed. 1885), to whom I would repeat the acknowledgments made in my edition of the *Septem*.

## ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ ΤΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ<sup>1</sup>.

Ἀγαμέμνων εἰς Ἴλιον ἀπιὼν τῇ Κλυταιμῆστρᾳ, εἰ πορθήσοι τὸ Ἴλιον, ὑπέσχετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σημαίνειν διὰ τοῦ πυρσοῦ ὄθεν σκοπὸν ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ μισθῷ Κλυταιμῆστρα, ἵνα τηροίῃ τὸν πυρσόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰδὼν ἀπήγγειλεν, αὐτὴ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτῶν ὄχλον μεταπέμπεται, περὶ τοῦ πυρσοῦ ἐροῦσα· ἐξ ᾧ καὶ ὁ χορὸς συνίσταται· οἵτινες ἀκούσαντες παιανίζουσιν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Ταλθύβιος παραγίνεται καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν διηγέεται. Ἀγαμέμνων δ' ἐπὶ ἀπήνης ἔρχεται· εἶπετο δ' αὐτῷ ἑτέρα ἀπήνη, ἔνθα ἦν τὰ λάφυρα καὶ ἡ Κασάνδρα· αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν προεισέρχεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον σὺν τῇ Κλυταιμῆστρᾳ, Κασάνδρα δὲ προμαντεύεται, πρὶν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια εἰσελθεῖν, τὸν ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ὀρέστου μητροκτονίαν, καὶ εἰσπηδᾷ ὡς θανουμένη, ρίψασα τὰ στέμματα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος τοῦ δράματος θαυμάζεται ὡς ἐκπληξιν ἔχον καὶ οἶκτον ἱκανόν. ἰδίως δὲ Αἰσχύλος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναιρεῖσθαι ποιεῖ, τὸν δὲ Κασάνδρας σιωπήσας θάνατον νεκρὰν αὐτὴν ὑπέδειξεν, πεποιθήκην τε Αἰγισθον καὶ Κλυταιμῆστραν ἐκάτερον δισχυριζόμενον περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐνὶ κεφαλαίῳ, τὴν μὲν τῇ ἀναιρέσει Ἰφιγενείας, τὸν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς Θυέστου ἐξ Ἀτρείως συμφοραῖς.

ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δράμα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Φιλοκλέους Ὀλυμπιάδι ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἔτει δευτέρῳ (B. C. 458). πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνονι, Χορηγόροις, Εὐμένισι, Πρωτεῖ σατυρικῷ. ἐχορήγει Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδνεύς.

<sup>1</sup> See the Preface and Introduction.

ΤΑ ΤΟΤ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ<sup>1</sup>.

ΦΥΛΑΞ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ.

ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ.

ΤΑΔΘΥΒΙΟΣ ΚΗΡΥΞ.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΝ

ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

<sup>1</sup> For the *dramatis personae* see Appendix III.



ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

## ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

### ΦΤΛΛΞ.

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων  
 φρουρᾶς ἑτείας μῆκος, ἣν κοιμώμενος  
 στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην,  
 ἄστρον κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγουρι  
 καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς, 5  
 λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι,  
 ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολὰς τε τῶν·  
 καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον,  
 αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσιν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν  
 ἀλώσιμόν τε βάζειν.—ὦδε γὰρ κρατεῖ 10  
 γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ·  
 εὔτ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ἔνδροσόν τ' ἔχω  
 εὐνὴν ὀνείροις οὐκ ἐπισκοπομένην

1—322. Readings of M

2. δ' ἦν.

1. μὲν...καὶ νῦν (8) νῦν δέ (20) 'I have long been praying for release, and still am watching, but this time I hope to be answered'

2. κοιμώμενος στέγαις.. ἄγκαθεν. See Appendix A.

4—7. ἄστρον...ὁμήγουρι καὶ τοὺς φέροντας. ἀστήρ as opposed to ἄστρον is properly a *great star*, and here stands for the great and familiar stars

which mark the seasons. (This is substantially Hermann's view) For καὶ cf. *Pers* 751 θεῶν δὲ πάντων ᾤετ' οὐκ εὐβουλία καὶ Ἡσείδωνος κρατήσσειν (Housman *J. Phil.* xvi 246 —To those (Valckenaer) who condemn v. 7 as spurious, it is replied that τῶν is not the style of an interpolator (Housman). There is no evidence against the verse except the rarity of the initial dactyl, but it must

## TRANSLATION.

(For the scenery and action see the Introduction.)

*A Watchman.* A whole long year of watch have I prayed heaven for release, a year that, like a dog, I have made my bed in the embrace of this palace-roof, till I know all the nightly company of the stars, and chiefly those chief signs that, marked by their brightness for the princes of the sky, bring summer and winter to man, all their wanings and the risings thereof. And still I am watching for the token-flame, the beacon-blaze which is to carry the news from Troy, the tidings of the capture! This it is to be commanded by a woman, who brings her quick hopes into the business of men! When I have found my bed, rain-wetted, restless, and safer than some are from the visit of

be marked as doubtful.—ἀντολὰς τ' ἐτῶν Kech., where ἔτη would be the annual returns of the constellations to their positions for a certain season. This should be considered in connexion with *inf.* 509 and the Introduction.

10. ἀλώσιμον: news of the capture. cf. *Theb.* 622 ἀλώσιμον παῖα 'a cheer for the capture' (Wecklein).—ᾧδε κρατεῖ *this it is to be commanded by*, literally 'thus uses power'; see *v.* 942 τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς.

11. γυναικὸς κίαρ 'one who meddles in the business of man with the sanguine feelings of a woman': cf. *Theb.* 182 μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρὶ, μὴ γυνὴ βουλευέτω τᾷξωθεν—γυναικὸς is generic (not 'the lady' i.e. Clytemnestra), and ἐλπίζον κίαρ a generic description of woman.—ἐλπίζον, wider than *hope*, includes fancy, imagination, etc. So ἐλπίζω often means

to imagine.—Note that ἐλπίζον is a constant epithet, ἀνδρόβουλον (=ἀνδρόβουλον ὄν) particular to the occasion, a common use of double epithets in Aeschylus.—The speaker is disposed to regard his strange occupation as due to some wild freak of the queen's capricious fancy and feminine imagination; hence the sarcastic allusion, which follows, to her 'dreams'. A similar thought occurs to the elders (*v.* 286); and see Clytemnestra's pretended description of herself as dreaming anxious dreams about Agamemnon (*v.* 882).

12—19 is one period, the construction being εὐτ' ἂν. ἔχω, ὅταν δοκῶ, κλαίω τότε. In *v.* 16 δέ, like δ' οὖν, marks merely resumption after the parenthesis.

13. εὐνήν ἐμήν 'the couch where no dream visits me'. ἐμήν, emphatic in itself, is here emphasized strongly by position

ἐμήν (φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ  
 τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ), 15  
 ὅταν δ' αἰδεῖεν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ,  
 ὕπνου τόδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος,  
 κλαίω τότ' οἴκου τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων,  
 οὐχ ὥς τὰ πρόσθ' ἄριστα διαπονουμένον.—  
 νῦν δ' εὐτυχὴς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων 20  
 εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός.  
 ᾧ χαῖρε λαμπτήρ, νυκτὸς ἡμερήσιον  
 φάος πιφάυσκων καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν  
 πολλῶν ἐν Ἄργει, τῇσδε συμφορᾶς χάριν,  
 ἰοῦ ἰοῦ. 25  
 Ἄγαμέμνωνος γυναικὶ σημαίνω τορῶς,  
 εὐνῆς ἐπαντεῖλασαν ὡς τάχος δόμοις  
 ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῇδε λαμπάδι  
 ἐπορθηράζειν, εἴπερ Ἰλίου πόλις  
 ἐάλωκεν, ὡς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει· 30  
 αὐτὸς τ' ἔγωγε φροῖμιον χορεύσομαι.

30. ἀγγέλλων.

in the sentence and verse, importing a contrast between the speaker and some one else, whom dreams *do* visit. The context points the allusion. The dreams of the mistress condemn the poor servant to a couch, where dreams would be only too welcome!—ἐμήν is commonly treated as inexplicable and corrupt, but, as I think, without reason.

14—15 *For, instead of sleep, I am haunted by the fear, that by sleep I might close my eyes for ever, that is, 'might suffer death, if I missed the signal or were caught neglecting my watch', the queen like Creon in the Antigone (οὐχ ὕμν' Αἰδὸς μοῖρος ἀρκέσει 308) having, we may presume, threatened this penalty.—For the popular euphemism 'lasting sleep' for 'death' see v. 1450 τὸν αἰεῖ*

*ὕπνον, v. 1293 ὅμα συμβαλῶ τότε—βεβαίως lit permanently, lastingly, as in πλοῖτος ἔδικος οὐ βέβαιος etc. The use of the softer word instead of the more explicit ἐς αἰεῖ adds to the euphemism a touch of rough humour.—τὸ μὴ κτλ This, meaning literally 'the (thought of) not closing my eyes in sleep permanently', explains the substantive φόβος Cf. Eur Med. 184 φόβος (ἐστίν) εἰ πείσω, and for the form of the clause Plato *Laus* 943 D χρὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιφέροντα δίκην ἀνδρὶ πάντ' ἀνδρὰ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ μὴ ἐπετεγκεῖν ψευδῇ τιμωρίαν, 'in inflicting punishment a man should always have before him the fear of inflicting a wrong penalty'. (See *contra* L. Campbell *Class Rev.* iv. 301, whose objection I have endeavoured to meet.)—The repetition ἀνθ' ὕπνου*



dreams (for instead of sleep comes the fear that sleeping might close my eyes for ever), and when the fancy comes to whistle or sing by way of a salve for drowsiness, then tears arise of sorrow for what hath befallen this house, now put to no such good work as in the old days. But ah, this time may the blessed release be given, the blessed beacon appear with its message from the dark

O joy! O welcome blaze, that showest in night as it were a dawn, thou harbinger of many a dance, that shall be set in Argos for this good hap! What ho! Lady of Agamemnon, I cry you loud. Up from the dark couch, quick, up, and raise the morning-hymn of thine house in honour of yon fire, if, as the signal doth manifestly announce, Troy town is taken indeed. Aye, and myself at least will prelude the dancing; for my score

ἔπνῳ is proper, if not necessary, to the point—The common interpretation is this: 'for I have with me fear instead of sleep, so that I cannot go to sleep soundly'. But a great number of emendations show the just objections made to this. τὸ ὄπνῳ is then superfluous, and the repetition ὄπνου .ὄπνῳ pointless.

17. 'Thus making of song one remedy against sleep', using song among (ἐν) other things to keep myself awake. τέμνειν was the technical term for shredding the roots, herbs etc. compounded in drugs (Blomfield, and see L. and Sc. s. v.).

19. . Put to work not so good altogether as in old times. The passive πορεύσθαι (πόρον) signifies to be worked at, πόρος being technical for any exercise or task-work. So the deponent διαπορεύσθαι is the regular word for a professional practice.—There is a double meaning in this cautious phrase, depending on the ambiguity of οἶκος between household and house. Under the mere grumble of the servant lies the same suggestion as in v. 37.—The rendering 'managed, administered' (L. and Sc. s. v. διαπορεύσθαι) is incorrect.

21. ὀφθαλόν πυρός 'fire of the darkness', i. e. which the darkness keeps and will not disclose

25. He calls as to awaken the slumbering house. Hence σημαίνω in v. 26.—σημασῶ recc

27. δόμοις 'for the house', i. e. on behalf of the household.

28 λαμπάδι, dependent on ἐπ-ορθιάζειν, 'upon' i. e. 'in honour of' its appearance.

29. ἐπορθιάζειν 'to sing as a morning song' (ὀρθριος), pursuing the train of metaphor suggested by ἡμερήσιον φάος, ἐπαντελῶσαν etc.—ἐπορθιάζειν recc. I cannot but think the modern editors wrong in generally adopting this change, probably a mere error. The associations of ὀρθιος, shrill, high, and of the ὀρθιος νόμος, are as foreign to the passage as ὀρθιος is appropriate.

30. ὁ 'the (expected) beacon': cf. τὸ σύμβολον in v. 8.

32. τὰ δεσποτῶν-εὐ-πισόντα θήσομαι 'my lord's good fortune I shall score to my game', i. e. regard it as my own: οἰκείωσομαι schol. So vice versa χρηστοῖσι δούλοις συμφορὰ τὰ δεσποτῶν κακῶς πίνοντα (Eur. Med. 54), apparently an imitation. Cf. στέργειν δὲ τὰ κεπεσόντα καὶ θέσθαι (accept and score) πρέπει (Soph. fr. 686), and Horace 'quod fors dienum cumque dabit, lucro arpone'. So also

τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὖ πεσόντα θήσομαι  
τρίς ἕξ βαλούσης τῆσδέ μοι φρυκτωρίας.

γένοιτο δ' οὖν μολόντος εὐφιλή χέρα  
ἄνακτος οἴκων τῇδε βαστάσαι χερί. 35  
τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ, βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας  
βέβηκεν· οἶκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι,  
σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειεν· ὥς ἐκὼν ἐγὼ  
μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ κοῦ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι.

### ΧΟΡΟΣ.

Δέκατον μὲν ἔτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμφ 40  
μέγας ἀντίδικος,  
Μενέλαος ἄναξ ἡδ' Ἀγαμέμνων,  
διθρόνον Διόθεν καὶ δισκῆπτρου  
τιμῆς ὄχυρὸν ζευγὸς Ἀτρείδαιν,  
στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύτην 45  
τῆσδ' ἀπὸ χώρας  
ἦραν, στρατιῶτιν ἄρωγῇ—  
μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἀρη,  
τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν, οἷτ' ἐκπατίοις  
ἄλγεσι παίδων, ὕπατοι λεχέων, 50  
στροφοδινοῦνται,  
πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι,  
δεμνιοτήρη  
πόνον ὀρταλίων ὀλέσαντες·  
ὑπατος δ' αἰὼν ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων 55

44. Ἀτρειδᾶν.

Wecklein. Perhaps we should read *ἐμοί* (Keck) in v. 33.—Others take *εὖ πεσόντα* as predicate, 'I shall reckon fortunate', but on such a question the Greek tradition seems entitled to respect.

33. *τρίς ἕξ*: the best possible throw with *three* cubical dice.—Here the slave begins to dance, but presently remember-

ing the many anxieties which in any case still remain, pauses and resumes (*δ' οὖν*) his gloomy meditation.—For a proposed re-arrangement, placing *vv* 36—39 after *v* 19 (Herwerden, Earle) see *Class. Rev.* xvii. 102. It is certainly smoother, but less dramatic.

36. *βοῦς* βέβηκεν 'I have weighty

shall profit by my master's game, the treble-six, thrown me by yon fire-signal.

Well, may the king return, may I clasp his welcome hand in mine. The rest shall be unspoken (my tongue hath upon it an ox-foot weight), though the house itself, if it could find a voice, might declare it plain enough; for I mean to be, for my part, clear to who knows and to him who knows not—blind. [*Exit.*]

*Chorus of Elders.* 'Tis now the tenth year since, to urge their powerful right against (Priam,) King Menelaus and King Agamemnon, the mighty sons of Atreus, paired in the honour of throne and sceptre derived from Zeus, put forth from this land with an Argive armament, a thousand crews of fighting men, summoned to their aid.

Loud rang their angry battle-cry, as the scream of vultures who, vexed by boys in the supreme solitudes where they nest, wheel with beating pinions round and round, when they miss the young brood whose bed it was their care to watch. And the shrill sad cry of the birds is heard by ears supreme, by

reasons for silence', i.e. the fear of punishment and of losing, if overheard, the reward of his service. This is the general meaning παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ δυναμένων παρρησιάσθαι, Hesychius. So also μοῦτι μοι ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ κρατερῶ ποδὶ λάξ ἐπιβαίνων ἰσχει κωτῖλλειν καί περ ἐπιστάμενον Theogn. 850.—The origin of a proverb is an uncertain speculation. Of many conjectures, the latest (Wecklein), that it is an allusion to the λύα βέειος, or ox-leather scourge, with which slaves were punished, seems as probable as any.

37. He glances at the queen's adultery.

39. *It is my intention to have meaning for those (only) who understand, while those who do not may think that I do not see, literally 'I am (willingly) unobservant for those who do not understand'. λήθομαι is here the passive answering to the active λανθάνει με τοῦτο 'I do not observe this'.*

—On the interval here see the Introduction.

40. Πριάμῃ: the dative depends primarily on ἀντίδικος (cf. ἀντίτροπος, ἀντίπαλος etc.) and more generally, as dative of interest, on the whole following sentence.—Πριάμῃ recc.—The singular ἀντίδικος includes both brothers as one 'party' to the suit, Menelaus having precedence, as the wrong was strictly his (Sidgwick).

44. Ἀτρεΐδαν Dindorf.

45. χίλιοναύτην of a thousand crews.

49–51. See Appendix B.

54. πόνον ὀρταλίων: gen. of equivalent, 'the brood, their care'.

55. ὕπατος echoes θῦατοι in v. 50 and leads up to the figure μετοίκων. The birds are 'licensed dwellers' in the high abodes of the gods.—*Apollo* as god of augury, *Pan* of animal life, *Zeus* of universal right. (Schneidewin.)—The appearance of the humble *Pan* in the com-

ἡ Πὰν ἡ Ζεὺς οἰωνόθροον  
 γόον ὄξυβόαν  
 τῶνδε μετοίκων ὑστερόποινον  
 πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἑρινύν.  
 οὕτω δ' Ἀτρείως παῖδας ὁ κρείσσων 60  
 ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει ξένιος  
 Ζεὺς, πολυνόρος ἀμφὶ γυναικὸς  
 πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυιοβαρῇ,  
 γόνατοσ' κονιασιν ἔρειδομένου  
 διακναιομένης τ' ἐν προτελείοις 65  
 κάμακος, θήσων Δαναοῖσιν  
 Τρωσί θ' ὁμοίως.—ἔστι δ' ὅπῃ νῦν  
 ἔστι· τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον·  
 οὐθ' ὑποκαίων οὐθ' ὑπολείβων,  
 οὔτε δακρύνων, ἀπύρων ἱερῶν 70  
 ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει.

69. ὑποκαίων.

pany of these great Olympians is a characteristic of the time. See on *Théb.*

132.

56. οἰωνόθροον ὄξυβόαν: see on v. 11.

58. τῶνδε μετοίκων (δυνάων) 'of them, because they are their μέτοικοι', and entitled to their protection: "dieser, die ihre μέτοικοι sind, wie Soph. *El.* 790 πρὸς τῆσδ' ὑβρίξῃ μητρὶς (von dieser, die deine Mutter sein will)" Wecklein.—The difficulty raised by Hermann against τῶνδε arises from not observing the predicative force of μετοίκων.—ὑστερόποινον 'punishing in after time' i.e. 'soon or late', in the end, though the vengeance may be deferred. Perhaps it was a popular belief that such youthful cruelties (note παῖδων) were especially liable to be avenged in kind, by refusing children to the offenders or taking their children away. Cf. Soph. *Ani.* 1074 τούτων σε λωβητήρες ὑπεραφθόροι λοχῶσιν "Αἰδού

καὶ θεῶν Ἑρινύες, ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς τοῖσδε ληφθῆναι κακοῖς.

60. ὁ κρείσσων... ξένιος Ζεὺς *their mightier Zeus, the guardian of hospitality* (ὁ κρείσσων referring back to the Zeus of the birds, v. 56), mightier as representing a stronger claim, since the faith of the ξένιος, outraged by Paris, was the very strongest of obligations from a religious point of view.

61. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ the triumphant Paris. On the name Ἀλεξάνδρος see on vv. 708, 714.

62. πολυνόρος *woman* (not *wooed*) by many, a woman that could not be faithful to one. For the contemptuous force of the epithet here cf. vv. 790 foll.

65. προτελείοις properly *ritual preceding marriage*, used here with irony, the war being the προτέλεια through which Helen must be finally won.—As this comparison is clearly the point of the sentence, it is probably pursued in



Apollo belike or Pan or Zeus, who to avenge the licensed sojourners of their dwelling-place, sends soon or late on the offenders the ministers of punishment. Even such ministers are the sons of Atreus, sent to punish the triumph of Paris by their mightier Zeus, guardian of hospitality, that so for a woman whom many could win there should be wrestlings many and weary, where the knee is pressed in the dust and the shaft is snapped, between suffering Greek and Trojan suffering too.

The cause is this day no further: the end will be as it must. By no increase of fuel or libation, and by no tears, shalt thou overcome the stubbornness of a sacrifice that will not burn.

detail. The 'breaking of the rod', for example, may well have been a marriage-custom, having the common motive of averting the evil eye. To this motive is assigned a somewhat similar Indian custom, to which I am referred by Dr J. G. Frazer: "on déchire une toile en deux devant les yeux des deux mariés, et on en jette les morceaux des deux côtés opposés". Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes et à la Chine*, 1. p. 78.—I have cancelled the reference here (ed. 1) to Raphael's *Sposalizio*. Several critics have pointed out that, since the 'breaking of the rods' is explained in that case by a special legend, it does not prove a custom.

67. δὲ refers to μέν in v. 40. 'In all this time we see no accomplishment (*the matter stands as it doth*) though it will end as it must'.

69—71. παραβέλει, 2nd pers. sing. fut. mid, the 2nd person being used, as often in English and in Greek, for the indefinite. The schol. λέγει τὸ τίς, though bad in grammar, is right as to the meaning. The sentiment is general, and expands, in the form of a metaphor probably proverbial, the preceding words τελείται ἐς τὸ περυσμένον. Without metaphor the meaning is "if fate is against you, you may struggle in vain". To which party in the present contest this doctrine applies, whether the sin of Paris or the sin of Agamemnon will most

affect the event, the speakers do not determine.—ὑποκαίων Casaubon. ὑπο- expresses that the fire or fuel is put, and the oil poured in, *under* the sacrifice to be burnt.—ὀργάς: not precisely 'anger' but *mood*, almost *caprice*, as in Eur. *Alced.* 121 χαλεπῶς ὀργάς μεταβάλλουσιν, and frequently.—As to the form παραβέλομαι, the middle has its regular quasi-reflexive force ('in commodum facientis') as in παράγομαι, παρίσταμαι, παρηγορέομαι, and other verbs of like meaning. Of this particular form θέλωμαι no other example is noted; but there is nothing to raise difficulty in this, as it will scarcely be supposed that our list of such futures is or could possibly become complete. The quasi-reflexive middle forms are always rare, from the nature of the case; thus of ῥήγνυμι, a far commoner verb than θέλω, the examples in this mood and meaning are extremely few.—All the commentators assume παραβέλει here to be 3rd pers. active; but the difficulties thus arising are acknowledged by all, and appear to me insuperable. There is no subject to the verb, and the context supplies none, 'Paris' and 'Agamemnon', which are proposed, being both too remote. If the sentence is general, we are released from the task of finding any particular allusion in ἀπύρων ἑρῶν.—Mr L. R. Farnell (*Class. Rev.* xi. 293) contends that the only possible meaning of ἀπύρα ἑρῶν *fireless sacrifice* is 'sacri-

ἡμεῖς δ' ἀτίται σαρκὶ παλαιᾷ  
 τῆς τὸτ' ἄρωγῆς ὑπολειφθέντες  
 μίμνομεν ἰσχὺν  
 ἰσόπαιδα νέμοντες ἐπὶ σκήπτροις. 75  
 ὃ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μυελὸς στέρνων  
 ἐντὸς ἀνάσσω  
 ἰσόπρεσβυς (Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ χώρᾳ),  
 τί θ' ἵπεργήρως; φυλλάδος ἤδη  
 κατακαρφομένης τρίποδας μὲν ὁδοῦς 80  
 στείχει, παιδὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρείων  
 ὄναρ ἡμερόφατον ἀλαίνει.  
 σὺ δέ, Τυνδάρεω  
 θύγατερ, βασιλεία Κλυταιμῆστρα,  
 τί χρέος; τί νέον; τί δ' ἐπαισθομένη, 85  
 τίνος ἀγγελίας  
 πειθοῖ περίπεμπτα θύος κινεῖς;  
 πάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων,

72. ἀτίται.

77. ἀνάσσω.

79. τίθιπεργήρως.

87. θυοσκείω (the first i in an enasure).

here offered without fire', such as a libation, presentation of fruits or the like, citing *θυσίαν ἄπυρον* (Eur. *fr.* 904), *ἀπύροις ἱεροῖς* (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 89—90). This, if true, would disprove all proposed interpretations of this passage, and show it to be, as Mr Farnell infers, deeply corrupt. But the context seems to explain sufficiently the sense, doubtless exceptional, which is generally here assumed.—See also Prof. Robinson Ellis *Class. Rev.* III. 132.

72. ἀτίται (*dures*) if correct, is from *ἀτίτης*, 'one who does not pay, a defaulter'; because with our outworn *theus* we made default, i.e. could not render our due service any more (Weil, H. L. Ahrens). But perhaps it should be read as dat. fem. sing. from *ἀτίτος* *disregarded, unvalued*, and corrected to ἀτίτη (Wecklein, comparing, for the feminine termination, *Cho* 617 *ἀθανάτας*, *Pers* 599 *περικλύστα* etc.) Then the dative *ἀτ.*

*σαρκὶ παλ.* is causal. It is not easy to choose.—*σάρξ* *muscle*, as in *Theo* 609 *γέροντα τὸν νοῦν σάρκα δ' ἥβῳσαν*.

75. ἰσόπαιδα 'equal to that of a child'. The compounds of *iso-* preserve in the classical writers almost always the true sense of the word and are applied only to that which, like *force*, can be measured. The use for mere resemblance (as in *ἰσόπετρος* etc.) becomes common only in late Greek.

76—79. *τε* .. *τε* as *so*.

77. ἀνάσσω Hermann The word suggests the pushing and shooting of young growth or sap (compare *ἀνέδραμεν ἔρπει ἱσος*), and answers to *φυλλάδος κατακαρφομένης*.

78. Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ χώρᾳ. this qualifies the parallel, to the disadvantage of the old; note *δε* 'The spirit of war' not being 'in the fort', children do not miss the strength they have not known.

As for us, whose worn thews could not render their service, that martial gathering left us behind, and here we bide, on guiding-staves supporting our childish strength. For if the young breast, where the sap is but rising, is no better than eld but in this, that the spirit of war is not there, oh what is man, when he is more than old? His leaf is withered, and with his three feet he wanders, weak as a child, a day-lit dream.

But what of thee, daughter of Tyndareus, Queen Clytaemnestra? What calls? What news? On what intelligence, what convincing report, are thy messengers gone round bidding sacrifice? To all the gods that dwell in Argos, upper and

79. τί θ' ὑπεργῆρας; Enger The rhetorical question is much more favoured in Greek than in English. For τί anticipating a verb (σπέρχει) see v. 926.—ὑπεργῆρας is properly a predicate (ὑπεργῆρας ὦν) *what of it (or him) in sheer old age?*—τὸ θ' ὑπεργῆρων Cod. Farn.

80. μὲν . ἑδ as if 'three feet' should have meant greater power—τρίποδος i.e. ἐπὶ σκήπτρου

81. ἀρῶν echoes to "Ἀρης in v. 78 Aeschylus probably connected the words in fancy

82. ὄναρ ἡμερόφατον a dream in daylight. There seems to be no reason for rejecting ἡμερόφατος. It is sufficiently certified by the existence of φάω *to light*, and is in form parallel to ἀκρατος. There are two forms of the stem, φᾶ and φᾷ, as in φᾶνερὸς, φᾷνός the preference of the long vowel in -φατος *lit* is natural, -φατος having two other meanings, *said* and *slain*.—ἡμερόφαντον Farn. ἡμερόφατον Ahrens.

83. The speaker "apostrophizes Clytaemnestra, who remains within the house, as Ajax, lingering in his tent, is apostrophized in Soph. *Ai.* 134" (Wecklein). The form of apostrophe in both cases indicates the like impatience for the presence of the person addressed. It must not be supposed that Clytaemnestra appears.—It is not without significance that the name of the queen is thus introduced together with that of her father. To be a daughter of this house

was no good omen, and the speaker glances, as it were involuntarily, at the reproach put more plainly in v. 905.—Clytaemnestra (*sic*) Aeschylus *passim*.

87. πεθοῖ: literally 'from conviction of what report?' i.e. *by what report convinced?*—περίπεμπα adverbial accusative, literally 'by the way of sending round'. The directions for sacrifice were sent not only to public places but generally throughout the country. See v. 599. From v. 96, we see that what was 'sent round' on such an occasion was not merely the message or order to sacrifice but materials from the sender, the prince or master, to aid the offering. Hence the point of noticing that the 'high flames' are 'persuaded' to rise by the rich oil or incense from the palace. It is a species of religious communion between the prince and the subject. The word περίπεμπα was probably technical. It may be noted that the usage gave the queen in this instance an excellent opportunity for communicating unsuspected with her partizans.—θύος κινεῖς literally, 'start' sacrifice, 'set it going'. I prefer this reading (Prién) to θυοσκεῖς (Auratus, Turnellus, and the majority), both as adhering to the MS., and as more appropriate to the facts (see v. 599). The sacrifices are not exactly those of the queen, but of her commanding.

88. τῶν δατυνόμων. The 'gods of the city' generally

ὑπάτων, χθονίων,  
 τῶν τ' οὐρανίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων, 90  
 βωμοὶ δάροισι φλέγονται·  
 ἄλλη δ' ἄλλοθεν οὐρανομήκης  
 λαμπὰς ἀνίσχει,  
 φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἀγνοῦ  
 μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις, 95  
 πελάνφ' ὀφρὺν βασιλείῃ.  
 τούτων λέξασ' ὅ τι καὶ δυνατόν  
 καὶ θέμις αἰνεῖν  
 παιῶν τε γενοῦ τῆσδε μερίμνης,  
 ἧ νῦν τοτὲ μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει, 100  
 τοτὲ δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν †ἀγανὰ φαίνει·  
 ἐλπίς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπλειστον,  
 τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα.†  
 κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν—ὄδιον κράτος  
 αἴσιον ἀνδρῶν 105

90. τῶν τ' οὐρανίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων· a strange antithesis, apparently without parallel, as is also *ἀγοραῖος* as a name for a class of gods. Οὐράνιος in Greek theology is an epithet of dignity, applying generally to the great Olympian deities. As applied to a single deity it signifies that the deity is viewed in a high religious conception. Thus Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία is the patroness of chaste love, the great natural Right which sanctions filial love is ἡ οὐρανία Θέμις (Soph. *El.* 1064), and the object of Hippolytus' mystic and ascetic devotion is ἡ Διὸς οὐρανία Ἀρτεμις (Eur. *Hipp.* 59). Thus also in Eur. *El.* 1235 θεοὶ οὐράνιοι is contrasted with δαίμονες τιναί, a lower term. There were everywhere vast numbers of 'deities', many of them much more popular than the exalted persons of the Olympian religion, who could not possibly have been termed οὐράνιοι, some of them mere idols, or something less. The so-called 'Hermæ' of Athens are

an instance. Since then ἀγοραῖος is here opposed to οὐράνιοι, we must seek in it a meaning antithetic to *sublime, high-exalted*. I would suggest that ἀγοραῖος, in this theological use, has not the local sense, but the secondary sense of *popular* or *familiar*, somewhat as in ἀγοραῖα ὀνόματα *familiar terms*, οἱ ἀγοραῖοι *the commonalty*, and that τῶν τ' οὐρανίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων means 'deities of every degree, the great gods and the low'. This is a quite different division from ὀπατοί—χθόνιοι, 'gods of the upper and the nether world'. It is no objection to this that we sometimes find the epithet Ἀγοραῖος attached to the name of an Olympian, a Zeus or Hermes Agoraios. It was and is the policy of great polytheistic religions to attach to themselves the lower cults in this way, as may again be illustrated by the application of the name *Hermæ* to objects of veneration much older than the god Hermes.—τῶν .. τῶν: the articles are added because



nether gods, the high gods and the low, the altars blaze with gifts, while on all sides the flames soar up to the sky, yielding to the innocent spell and soft persuasion of hallowed oil, rich from the store of kings. All this so far as thou canst and mayst consent) do thou explain, and thus cure my present care, which vexes me now anon, although at whiles the sacrifices call up a kindly hope, and drive from my mind the unsated thought that still returns to the prey (?).

It is my right to tell—it is an encouragement upon their way permitted to them whose vigour is past, that still at their years

ἰπτάων, χθονίων, οὐρανίων, ἀγοραίων would have the appearance of a fourfold division, instead of two antitheses, based on different principles.

94. ἀγνοῦ *hallowed*, not merely 'pure'. The poet has in view those costly *χρίματα* of foreign, chiefly Oriental, production, which even in his own time were scarcely used but for religious purposes.

95. παρηγορίαις: cf. παραθέλει v. 71.—μαλακαῖς δόλοισι *in whose softness is no deceit*, contrasted epithets. Under this figure is suggested the hope, that the rejoicing, of which these things are a symbol, will not prove deceptive. But the speakers are unaware how very far from ἀδολοι the queen's persuasions are.

97. ὅ τι...αἰνεῖν *so far as thou canst and mayst consent* (to tell), supplied from λέξασα, not 'so far as thou canst and mayst tell (αἰνεῖν)'. In this sense αἰνεῖν for λέγειν is not used. So also Wecklein, "αἰνεῖν, sich zu etwas verstehen, zusagen".—λέξασα...παίων τι γινού *i.e.* γενοῦ λέξασα παίων τε 'be the informant, and so the healer' etc. The periphrastic imperative, γενοῦ with aorist participle, is here seen in its original use, where it serves to express something not so easily put without it.—Others suppose that the clause corresponding to παίων τε γενοῦ is lost by anacoluthon (Wecklein); but this, in so short a sentence, seems unnatural.

100. τελέθει properly 'results in being',

*i.e.* 'is on the whole' or 'on the balance'. So in Eur. *Med.* 1095 εἰθ' ἡδὺ βροτοῖς, εἰτ' ἀνιάρων παῖδες τελέθουσι. Now gloom, now hope, 'prevails'.

101—103. ἦ τις ἐστὶ θυμοβόρος λήπη τῆς φρενός schol. on v. 103.—The reading is quite uncertain ἀπληστον f. ἀγαρή Karsten φανθείς' Pauw. As to the termination of ἀγανά, it is doubtful whether in such points poetry was regular, and there are traces of a certain tendency in ν to retain the α-sound, like that regularly exercised by ρ. Thus we have in Attic writing ναμέρης, ποινά-τωρ, εὐνάτωρ, νάμα, εὐνάσιμος, κυναγός, ναός, νάιος.—For the last two lines Housman gives ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἀπληστον θυμόν, λυπησέφρον' ἄτην, which, as he shows (*J. Ph.* xvi. p. 250) might not improbably give rise to the MS. and schol.

104. κύριός ἐμι: they turn for relief to certainties, and to that which is still within their power, the narration of the past.

105. ὀδῖον ..ἐκτελείων (in apposition to θροεῖν, or rather to the notion κύριος εἶναι θροεῖν, 'narration is the privilege and gift of old age') *an encouragement upon the way permitted to men whose vigour is past*. ὀδῖον and αἰσιον apply properly to a favourable omen on a march or journey. κράτος 'strength' *i.e.* 'that which strengthens', see on v. 299. The application of the metaphor to the journey of life is suggested partly by the

ἐκτελέων· ἔτι γὰρ  
 θεόθεν καταπνεύει  
 πειθῶ, μολπᾶν  
 ἀλκάν, ξύμφυτος αἰών—  
 ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν 110  
 δίθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἡβᾶν  
 ξύμφρονε τάγα,  
 πέμπει σὺν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι  
 θούριος ὄρνις Τευκρίδ' ἐπ' αἶαν,  
 οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς 115  
 βασιλεῦσι νεῶν ὁ κελαινὸς  
 ὃ τ' ἐξόπιν ἀργίας  
 φανέντες ἵκταρ μελάθρων  
 χερὸς ἐκ δορυπάλτου  
 παμπρέπτοις ἐν ἔδραισιν, 120  
 βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν  
 ἐρικύματα φέρματι γένναν,  
 βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων.

107. καταπνεύει.  
 112. ξύμφρονα τὰν γὰρ.

112—114 inserted by corrector m in space left by M.  
 113. καὶ χερὶ omitted.

foregoing thoughts (τρίποδας ὁδοὺς στείχει  
 v. 80) but chiefly by the coming story,  
 which relates to a *ῥάτος αἰσιαν* in  
 the literal sense of the words. In *αἰσιαν*,  
 which means both *fortunate* and *permitted*  
 (see *αἰσα*), there is a double suggestion.—  
*ἐκτελής* here the opposite of *ἐντελής*, is  
 a euphemism for *aged*: as *ὁ ἐντελής* is a  
 man in his vigour or perfection, so *ὁ*  
*ἐκτελής* here is one who has passed that  
 stage (cf. *ἐξηβος*). In Eur. *Ion* 780, by a  
 different application of the notion 'finish-  
 ed' a young man is *ἐκτελής νεανίας* as  
 opposed to a boy.—I think it clear that  
 the parenthesis begins with *ῥάτος*, and  
 not, as usually marked, with *ἐτι*. If  
*ῥάτος ἐκτελέων* is referred directly to the  
 omen afterwards related, there is no point  
 in the epithet *ἐκτελέων*, however inter-  
 preted: and moreover the other punctua-

tion is required by the general sense, for  
 the speakers, as old men, have the right  
 to *narrate* (or *sing*), not the right to tell  
 this particular story.

106—108 *For still their age draws  
 from heaven inspired persuasion, which is  
 the strength of song, i.e. in their eloquence  
 the old retain a strength, when all other  
 strength is gone. The thought of this  
 passage, that mental and, as we might  
 say, 'literary' gifts are the remaining  
 consolation of old age, is closely illus-  
 trated, as well as the form of expression,  
 by Eur. *H F.* 673 foll. It may remind  
 us that the poet was himself over sixty  
 when the *Agamemnon* was composed.—  
*ξύμφυτος αἰών* 'the time born with them'  
 or 'beginning from their birth', i.e. 'the  
 age at which they are'; cf. *ὁ ξυνεῦδων*  
*χρόνος* for 'the time of sleeping' v. 885*

they draw from heaven that winning inspiration, which is the strength of song,—how the twin-throned Achæan Kings, concordant leaders of Hellas' youth, were sped with avenging arm and spear to the Teucrian land by a gallant omen, when to the kings of ships appeared the black king of birds and the white-backed king together, seen near the palace on the spear-hand in conspicuous place, feasting on hares, then full of young, stayed one course short of home.

(Enger). The abstraction 'age' is put for 'the aged' according to a common habit of the language.—καταπνεύει (or καταπνέει: the latter MSS have καταπνέει, in M the letter is uncertain, both forms are good) 'inhales, draws down breath' not 'breathes down upon'. πνέειν and its compounds (see ἐμπνέειν, εἰσπνέειν, ἀναπνέειν) mean either 'inhale' or 'exhale' according to the context!—The forms in this passage are notably ambiguous: πειθω, μολπᾶν, ἀλκαν are all uncertain in case, and the two last may easily be read as datives (μολπᾷ). Hence many corrections (see Wecklein), but the traditional accentuation appears to be correct.—Wecklein interprets πειθῶ to be the *confidence* or *trust* which encourages them to tell the following story. But the sentiment should from the context be one applicable to old men in general.

111. ἦβάν: for the plural cf. Eur. *Ion* 476 τέκνων νεανίδες ἦβαι. An abstract used in concrete sense is sometimes singular, sometimes plural.—Ἑλλάδος substantive—Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1283) citing the verse gives the singular, Ἑλλάδος ἦβαι.

112. ξύμφρονε τάγα (τάγης) or, as Dindorf, ταγά (ταγός). The schol. τὴν δμύφρονα περὶ τὰ τακτικά assumes the abstract form ξύμφρονα ταγάν (τάγη), contrary to the metre.—ξύμφρον' ὄρωγάν (W. Headlam *Class. Rev.* xii. 245) is certainly a more poetical expression.

113. πέμπει historic present—καὶ χερὶ dropped accidentally from recurrence of the syllable -ρ, restored from Aristoph. *Frogs* 1288.

114. θούριος ὄρνις a *gallant omen*, transferring to the omen the feeling it produces.

115. οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς ..φανέντες the *appearance of etc.*, in apposition to ὄρνις. See on *Theb.* 611.

116. The difference between the birds, the black and the white-backed, is doubtless symbolical. The meaning must depend on the reading and interpretation of v. 126.

117. τε because the aptness of the omen lay in the appearance of the two different birds together.—δὲ (Hartung) would be regular for 'one black and the other' etc., but is here alien from the meaning and inconsistent with the use of the singular βασιλεὺς. With δὲ we should expect, as some would write, the plural βασιλῆς.—ἀργίας *white-marked*: the termination is common in words describing the marks of animals: cf. ἐρυθρίας (ἐρυθρός), Ξανθίας the slave-name (ξανθός), both like ἀργίας (ἀργός) from colours, κοκκίας, στεμματίας etc.—ἀργῆς (ἀργαίς, ἀργαίης *white*) Thiersch, for metre, rightly, if we may assume that Aeschylus would not allow the pronunciation *arg-yas*.

119. ἐκ δεξιᾶς, ὃ ἐστὶν εὐσυμβόλως, schol.—δορυπάλτου 'spear-shaking', gen. of δορυπάλτης, cf. λαγοδαίτης v. 128. δορυπάλτου Turnebus; but it is not proved that the spelling of Aeschylus was always consistent.

121. λαγίναν γένναν *hares* (not a hare) For the periphrasis, in which γέννα means *stock* or *kind* (not *offspring*) cf. ἀρσένων γέννα *males* (Eur. *Med.* 428), Κενταύρων

αἴλιον αἴλιον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.  
 κεδνὸς δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο ἀντ. α'. 125  
 λήμασι δισσοῦς  
 Ἀτρεΐδας μαχίμους  
 ἐδάη λαγοδαίτας  
 πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς·  
 οὕτω δ' εἶπε τεράζων· 130  
 χρόνῳ μὲν ἀγρεῖ  
 Πριάμου πόλιν ἄδε κέλευθος·  
 πάντα δὲ πύργων  
 κτήνῃ πρόσθε τὰ δημιοπληθῇ  
 μοῖρα λαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον. 135  
 οἶον μή τις ἄγα  
 θεόθεν κνεφάσῃ προτυπὲν στό.

124. αἴλιον (once only) throughout.

128. λαγοδαίτας.

134. προσθετά.

136. ἄτα.

γέννα Centaurs (id. *H. F.* 365), γέννα Φρυγῶν Phrygians (id. *Tro* 331), σὰν Ἀσιητῖδα γένναν *like, an Asiatic* (id. *Andr* 1010).—βοσκόμενοι δρόμων *feeding on hares, creatures full-feeding with young, which they had caught in the moment of escape*, literally 'stopped from their last runs'.—Mr. Platt (*Class. Rev.* XI. p. 94) refers to Xen. *Cyneg.* v. 14 (of hares) οἱ δὲ ἤδη ἔτειοι τάχιστα θέουσι τὸν πρῶτον δρόμον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους οὐκέτι.—ἐρικύματα from ἐρικύματος, cf πολυπέρματος (Theophrastus); these forms are rare in the older writers, but there is no reason to fix any particular date for their first appearance. The neuter plural stands in apposition to the plural phrase λαγίαν γένναν, the neuter (*things, creatures*) being used for pathos.—δρόμων is a true plural, the 'runs' of the hares respectively. The fact expressed in βλαβέντα λαισθίων δρόμων is part of the symbol. The Trojans were almost to escape their enemies, and were at last only caught by the pretence of abandoning the attempt.—I think the text here

correct. The assumptions which have created difficulty are (1) that ἐρικύματα is an error, (2) that the two eagles have but one hare, inferred apparently from v. 142, where see note. As to (1), the schol. gives the interpretation πολυκύματα, but this no more implies that the text had -κύματα than that it had πολυ-. The interpreter naturally uses the commoner form in both parts. On these assumptions some read (with recs.) ἐρικύματα (fem. sing.) φέρματι, and explain the gender of βλαβέντα (masc. sing.) as referring to the meaning (τὸν λαγόν) of λαγίαν γένναν. But this is to play fast and loose with τὸ σημαίνουσαν. The meaning of λαγίαν γένναν is *ex hypothesis* feminine, and the fact that Greek had no distinct word for the female hare is nothing to the matter. Others therefore (Turnebus, Hartung) read ἐρικύματα φέρματα and interpret this either of the mother-hare, which φέρμα (*fetus*) will not admit, or of the unborn offspring, which βλαβέντα δρόμων will not admit.

124. αἴλιον the burden of a dirge.—

Be sorrow, sorrow spoken, but still let the good prevail!

Then the good seer, who followed the host, when he saw how the two brave Atridae were in temper (?) *twain*, took cognizance of those hare-devouring birds and of the princely captains, and thus he read the prodigy: 'After long time they that here go forth must win King Priam's town, though ere they pass the wall all their cattle, their public store, shall perforce be divided and consumed. Only may no divine displeasure fore-smite and overcloud the gathering of the host, whose might should bridle

In English we should make the first clause dependent, 'Though sad words must be said, yet let what is good prevail'. See on *v* 360

125—129 See Appendix C.

128 ἰδάν .. ἀρχάς lit. 'understood the hare-devourers and the conducting powers', i.e. understood the combination of the two pairs (see on *τε* in *v*. 117) and perceived the parallel — λαγοδαίτας f.

133—135. The besieging army shall consume their provisions before Troy, and be reduced to the last straits. Calchas infers this from the fierce hunger of the typical eagles (So also Wecklein.)—πύργων. πρόσθε before i.e. outside the wall, so πρόσθε πυλῶν *Thob.* 512.—κτήνη beasts, here as always (Paley). κτήματα schol. here, and κτήνη χορήματα *Hesych.* The one note explains the source of the other.—μοῖρα *division, distribution*, 'partitio' (Klausen). For similar uses of μοῖρα in its concrete sense (*pari*) see *Eur. Med.* 430 and note there. Sophocles describes these herds, the supply of the Greek host before Troy, as συμμικτὰ λείας ἄδαστα 'the mingled spoil of forage, not yet divided' (*At.* 54).—τὰ δημιο-πληθῆ. πληθος *a mass* is correlative to μοῖρα. By distribution the supply ceases to be δημιος and to be a πληθος.—πρὸς τὸ βίαιον=πρὸς βίαν or βιαίως *perforce* (not violently).—To refer κτήνη with the schol. to the wealth of Troy requires us to neglect μέν. δέ and to mistranslate κτήνη and πύργων, and leaves unexplained how Calchas inferred from the portent that the enterprise would take a long time. See also *v*. 343

136—144. A further suggestion from the portent. The cruel feast of the eagles is an offence against the kindly law of Nature, represented by Artemis Ἐλευθια the patroness of the young and of pregnancy. The seer therefore cannot but recall that 'the house of the eagles', which is being interpreted 'of the Atridae', has affronted the same power by another unnatural banquet (the Thyestean feast); and he forebodes disaster from this source. The allusion is guarded, but comes out more clearly below (*v*. 158 σπενδομένα θυσιᾶν ἑτέραν (*a second*) ἀνομόν τιν' ἄδαιτον. The prophet fears that the old sin may be made to 'breed another like itself' according to the doctrine of *v*. 755.—The question here, as Paley well puts it, is 'how Calchas infers the anger of the goddess against the Atridae from the destruction of a hare by the eagles, unless the Atridae had already committed some crime, of which that destruction was the symbol?' I suggest the above as the answer.—Sophocles (*El.* 566) gives another account of the matter; Agamemnon had offended Artemis by killing a sacred doe; and the change is interesting. The sin is thus small, so that Agamemnon, as is necessary from the point of view of the *Electra*, is not gravely compromised, while, such as it is, it is personal to himself, so that we are not driven to the characteristic doctrine of this play, that one man's sin tends to produce sin in others.

136. ἄγα Hermann. Only may no divine displeasure fore-smite and overcloud the gathering of the host, whose might



μιον μέγα Τροίας  
 στρατωθέν. οἴκῳ γὰρ ἐπί-  
 φθονος Ἄρτεμις ἀγνὰ 140  
 πτανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρός,  
 αὐτότοκον πρὸ λόχου  
 μογερὰν πτάκα θυομένοισιν·  
 στυγεί δὲ δείπνον αἰετῶν.  
 αἴλιον αἴλιον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω. 145  
 τόσσων περ εὐφρων, καλά,  
 δρόσοισιν ἀέπτοις μαλερῶν ἐόντων  
 πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις  
 θηρῶν ὀβρικόλοισι τερπνά,  
 τούτων αἰτεῖ ξύμβολα κρᾶναι· 150  
 δεξιὰ μὲν κατάμομφα δὲ  
 φάσματα στρουθῶν.

147. ἀέπτοις ὄντων

*should bridle Troy.* Literally 'the assembling of (what is to be) the mighty curb of Troy'. Note the collision of metaphors in *κλεφάση στόμιον*: but in thought the metaphors do not touch, for what is really 'over-clouded' is not the 'bridle' but ἡ στρατώσει, the gathering of the host. Nevertheless the juxtaposition is bold and more in the manner of Pindar.—στρατωθέν in the camp at Aulis before departure (Hermann).—προτυπέν 'smitten beforehand, too soon'

139. οἴκῳ κυσὶ πατρός: τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν κυνῶν Διὸς schol. For the two datives, one in effect a possessive, see *Thes.* 167 στρατῷ .. πυργηρομέρη πόλει, 621 πύργους .. χθονί and notes there.—οἴκῳ marks that the speaker refers to a hereditary, not a personal, offence in the Atridae.—οἴκῳ Scaliger—ὄκνῳ γὰρ, 'for I have misgivings' W Headlam *Class Rev.* xiv. 115

142 *Who sacrifice a poor trembling creature with all her unborn young.* θυομένοισιν The middle form *θύομαι*, signi-

fying properly 'to sacrifice for one's purpose' or 'with a certain ulterior object', is technical for sacrifices of divination. (See *L.* and *Sc s. v.*) It is applied therefore naturally to the act of the eagles, as Calchas expounds it. But in *θυομένοισιν*, as in *οἴκῳ* and again in *δείπνον*, the type and antitype are mixed together. The 'house', the 'sacrifice', and the 'banquet' (*δείπνον*, a word proper to men, not animals, and applied to the Thyestean feast in *v.* 1601) are really those of the Atridae and of Atreus.—πτάκα used not merely as a synonym of *λαγώς*, but in its full sense (see *πησσω*)—The use of the singular here is no evidence that there was but one hare (see *v.* 121). Whether there was one or two, the singular in this generic description is rhetorically proper. The wickedness lay in killing a pregnant mother, not in killing two animals

144 *δείπνον αἰετῶν such a banquet of eagles* So we must render it to give the full effect. *αἰετῶν*, being superfluous

Troy. For the wrath of holy Artemis rests on the house of those winged coursers of her sire, who sacrifice a poor trembling mother with all her young unborn. She loathes such a feast of eagles.

'Be sorrow, sorrow spoken, but still let the good prevail !

'Yea, fair one, loving though thou art unto the uncouth whelps of many a fierce breed, and sweet to the suckling young of all that roam the field, yet to this sign thou art prayed to let the event accord. Auspicious are these eagle-omens, but not with-

(for the possessive 'their' would be supplied from the context), is necessarily emphatic. 'The banquet' (see preceding note) was fit only for creatures of prey.

146—151. An appeal to the goddess not to interfere with the fulfilment of the portent *such as it is*. The portent, it is noted, does not promise unmixt good, but only good with evil, a victory after much suffering (see 20. 131—135), so that her displeasure may be satisfied without delaying the fleet and so causing the horrible sacrifice of Iphigenia.

146—148. See Appendix D. *τόσσων* an 'epic' form; *τόσον* recd.—*καλά fair one* (if right) is a propitiatory invocation, like the *ὦ καλέ* and *ὠγαθέ* of common conversation. Sidgwick and Wecklein also punctuate thus. *ὦ καλέ* Weil. *ἀ καλά* recd.—*κάκαλά* (see *ἀκαλός*) Platt *Class. Rev.* xi. p. 95.—*δρόσοισιν* imitated, according to the schol., from *ἔρσαι* (*lambs*) in *Od* 9 222. If so, it is an odd specimen of a poet's science. *ἔρση a lamb* and *ἔρση or ἔρση dew* have probably no connexion; but Aeschylus apparently took *ἔρση a lamb* to mean properly 'that which is *dropped*' and extended the analogy to *δρόσος*. Cf. *ἐδώλια* for *θάλαμος* *dormer* in *Theb.* 442.—*δέλτοις rough, uncouth*, from the stem *ἐπ-*, primarily 'that which cannot be handled, or dealt with' (see Dr Leaf on *ἔπειν* and *ἐπεσθαι* in *J. Phil.* xiv. 231) Hermann rightly defends this word against proposed change.—*Μ* has *δέλτοις* but its archetype seems to have had *δέπτοις*, like *ι*, for the schol. to *Μ* explains not

*δέλτοις* but *δέπτοις*.—*έόντων*: see Appendix D. *λέοντων* Stanley, from *Etym. Mag.* 377 *Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι τοὺς σκύμους τῶν λέοντων δρόσους κέκληκε*.

149. *τέρπνᾱ sweet, delightful*, because kindly; nom. fem.—If taken as a neuter with the next clause it spoils the emphasis.

150. *Still thou art prayed, seeing what this portent is, to permit an answering accomplishment*, a cumbrous version, but we cannot with much less effect what the Greek does simply by throwing the stress on *τούτων*, and thus giving it a predicative force, 'this, being what it is.'—*ξύμβολα*: any two things which *tally* are *ξύμβολα* to each other; here the event is to tally with the sign, in which case, it is suggested, the goddess should be satisfied, because *δεξιὰ μὲν (ἔστι) κατάμομφα δὲ φάσματα*.—*αἰτεῖ* for the passive see Thuc. 2. 97 *καὶ αἰσχίον ἦν αἰτηθέντα μὴ δοῦναι ἢ αἰτήσαντα μὴ, τυχεῖν*, and L. and Sc. *s. v.* As used here it has the same effect as in English. The speaker does not put his request directly but pleads that it is reasonable.—*δεξιὰ μὲν καὶ*, as an explanatory comment on *τούτων* (see above), has properly no conjunction.—The objections and conjectures made here seem to arise (1) from not perceiving that *αἰτεῖ* is passive, (2) from mis-joining *δεξιὰ...στροπυθῶν* to the previous sentence.

152. *φάσματα στροπυθῶν the portents of the birds, i.e. the omen obtained by the eagles* (see *θυομένοισι*), or in plain language, by the Atridae, in whose name he appeals. For the sense of the genitive

ἰήιον δὲ καλέω Παιᾶνα,  
 μή τινας ἀντιπνόους  
 Δαναοῖς χρονίας ἐχενηίδας 155  
 ἀπλοίας τεύξῃ,  
 σπενδομένα θυσίαν  
 ἐτέραν ἄνομόν τιν' ἄδαιτον,  
 νεϊκῶν τέκτονα σύμφυτον,  
 οὐ δεισήμερον. μέμνει 160  
 γὰρ φοβερὰ παλινόρτος  
 οἰκονόμος δολία,  
 μνάμων μῆνις τεκνόποινος.  
 τοιάδε Κάλχας ξὺν  
 μεγάλοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀπέκλαγξεν 165  
 μόρσιμ' ἀπ' ὀρνίθων  
 ὀδίων οἴκοις βασιλείοις·  
 τοῖς δ' ὁμόφωνον  
 αἴλινον αἴλινον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.  
 Ζεὺς—ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ— στρ. α'. 170

165 ἀπέκλαιξεν

see Eur. *El.* 710 τυράννων φάσματα, where the τυράννοι are Atreus and Thyestes (so that the use may well be a reminiscence) and the φάσμα is the golden lamb.—στρουθῶν is generally declared (after Porson) corrupt, on grounds which I cannot help thinking unsubstantial. (1) The metre, it is assumed, must be dactylic. But as the passage is not strophic, the metre is unknown. There is nothing unrhymical in the text. (2) 'στρουθός, since it meant a sparrow, could not mean an eagle'. The same argument would prove that it could not mean an ostrich or a dove. The variety of its meanings shows that originally it meant simply 'a bird', and like other synonymous words, was variously limited in various places. Here we find it in its proper sense. (3) The insertion of στρουθῶν is accounted for by recollection of the partly

similar story about the serpent and the birds (στρουθαί) in Homer (*Il.* 2. 311). The likelihood of this we need not criticize. If the word could not be genuine here, we might enquire whence it came, but till that is shown, the fact that it *might* have been inserted is immaterial. The derivation itself seems far-fetched.

153. But oh, in the name of the Healing God, do not thou etc. The appeal is still to Artemis, who is entreated to remember her near connexion with Apollo the God of Mercy. τεύξῃ 2nd pers subj from ἐτενέαμην (for the form see L. and Sc. s. v.) not 3rd pers. from ἐτενέα. The middle voice has the same force as in σπενδομένα.—This was the ancient interpretation (ᾧ Ἀρτέμι, schol. on 156, does not imply the reading τεύξῃς as Hermann infers) and seems

out a flaw. But oh, in the blessed name of the Healer, raise thou not hindering winds, long to delay from the seas the Argive fleet; urge not a second sacrifice, foul offering of forbidden meat, which shall put hate between flesh and bone and break marital awe. For patient, terrible, never to be laid, is the wrath of the wife still plotting at home revenge for the unforgotten child.'

In such wise Calchas darkened his chant of high promise to the royal house from the omens of the march; and so with according burden

Be sorrow, sorrow spoken, but still let the good prevail!  
'Zeus'—Power unknown, whom, since so to be called is his

preferable in feeling to the recent view that Apollo is asked to prevent the intention of Artemis. Moreover on such a point, if any, ancient tradition should be respected.

154. *τινας*, 158 *τινα*: the vagueness of foreboding.

157. *σπενδομένα* the reflexive form (*for itself*), not *σπένδουσα*, because the ultimate object would not be the death of the victim but the satisfaction of Artemis' wrath.—*θυσίαν ἑτέραν* that of Iphigenia.—*ἄδαιτον*: that may not, like an ordinary lawful sacrifice, be partaken of

159 *νυκίων τέκτονα σύμφυτον*. a difficult and obscure phrase, literally 'inbred maker of hatred', or *maker of hatred in the very flesh*. Some (as Wecklein) render it by 'creator of hatred between near friends', *Stifter von Hader unter den Angehörigen*, i.e. the husband and wife, Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra, comparing Soph. *Ant.* 794 *νέκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναιμον*. This would be simple according to Greek habit of expression, if husband and wife were called *σύμφυτοι*, which however does not appear to be ascertained, though the examples given in L. and Sc. *σὺν σύμφυτος*, *συμφύω*, especially the Platonic examples, will show that it is not unlikely.—*Clinging, inseparable* (Paley, Hermann, Klausen) comes to the same thing by a different road

160. *οὐ δασιήνορα* *rebellant against the husband*: by a bold figure the act of

sacrifice, personified, is treated as a living agent, and takes the qualities of the true agent (the wife) who carries out the effect of it. The language is intentionally obscure, language of prophecy, fully intelligible only in the light of the event.—*μῦναι*. the subject is still the living crime, embodied in the avenging wife and mother

164. *τοιῷδε* takes an adverse sense from the opposition to *ξὺν μεγάλοις ἀγαθοῖς*: with much good there was *this*; hence *τοῖς δ' ὁμόφωνον*, v. 168.—*ἀπέκλαζεν* (recc) *ἀπό*: the preposition depends on *μῦσσιμα*, 'predictions deduced from'.

170. The narrative at this point comes face to face with a mystery, upon which the poet pauses. How shall the religious mind explain to itself such an event as the sacrifice of Iphigenia? On the one hand Agamemnon received divine warning against it; on the other hand he was fearfully tempted to commit it, and this by divine act and in consequence of sin not his own. Why should guilt be visited, as it is, beyond the guilty? Why does the Divinity permit, nay, sometimes seem to bring about, the evil which he denounces? In the last resort we can answer these questions only 'by casting off the burden of vanity in the name of the Almighty' (v. 175), that is, in the language of later theology, by faith. So much however we see, that evil itself is

τῷ φίλον κεκλημένω,  
 τοῦτό νιν προσενέπω.  
 οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι  
 πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος  
 πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν  
 ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος  
 χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμω.  
 οὐδ' ὅστις πάρουθεν ἦν μέγας,  
 παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων,  
 οὐδ' ἐλέγξεται πρὶν ὦν,  
 ὅς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφυ. τριακ-  
 τῆρος οἴχεται τυχῶν.  
 Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως  
 ἐπινίκια κλάζων  
 τεύξεται φρενῶν τοπάν·  
 τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώ-  
 σαντα τῷ πάθει μάθος  
 θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.  
 στάζει δ', εὖθ' ὑπνῶ, πρὸ καρδίας

175. τῷδε. 180. οὐδὲν λέξαι. 184. κλάζω. 185. τὸ πᾶν. 189. ἐν θ' ὑπνῶ.

an instrument of moral discipline, perhaps the only possible, and, if so, a mercy after all (v. 193). Religious tradition shadows forth such a doctrine, when it tells us on the one hand that there is one Power over all, and on the other hand that this Power itself has been developed out of a struggle, and that the present order of things stands upon the ruin of previous experiments. Thus does Aeschylus spiritualize the uncouth legends of the ancient cosmogony with its strange succession of brutal deities.—The structure of the passage, though simple, is not perfectly continuous. *Zeus* in v. 170 is the projected subject to the statement 'Zeus has decreed that wisdom should come by experience', but this statement is deferred, in order to set forth the legends and suggest the point of view

from which they are to be regarded, and finally appears (v. 186) in a slightly modified shape.

'Zeus—meaning thereby that unknown Power, whose pleasure it is to be so called', αὐτῷ *to himself*.

173. οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι .. πλὴν Διός literally 'I can make no other guess for the purpose but *Zeus*' i. e. I can think of no other to trust, but in the one Almighty is my only resource. *προσεικάσω* here is not 'to compare', or 'liken to', but 'to conjecture with a view to' the purpose explained in vv. 175—177.—'I can liken none but Zeus to Zeus' (Wecklein) This is nearly the same, but leaves the dependence of *εἰ κτλ.* somewhat obscure.

174. πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος *in deep pondering upon all things*, πάντα *the*



own pleasure, I by that name address. When I ponder upon all things, I can conjecture nought but 'Zeus' to fit the need, if the burden of vanity is in very truth to be cast from the soul. Not he, who perhaps was strong of yore and flushed with victorious pride, could now be so much as proved to have had being: and he that came next hath found his conqueror and is gone. But whoso to Zeus by forethought giveth titles of victory, the guess of his thoughts shall be right. And Zeus it is who leadeth men to understanding under this law, that they learn a truth by the smart thereof. The wound, where it lies dormant, will bleed, and its aching keep before the mind the memory of

universe as in Eur. *Med.* 411 *δικα καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται* nature and the universe are turned upside down, where see note.—ἐπι- over and over.

175. τὸ μάταν... ἄχθος the burden 'in vain', that is, the burden, in the language of *The Preacher*, of 'vanity', the oppressive sense of futility which must accompany a belief that the moral problem of the world is insoluble.—τὸ Pauw.

177. ἐτητύμως in the fullest sense. As to the use here of this 'etymological' term, and the light which it may throw on the source from which Aeschylus drew the form of his thought, I have written in Appendix II. to my edition of the *Seven Against Thebes*. The etymological origin of the thought, even if it be, as I think, certainly traceable, has little effect on the present application of it. For an adverse criticism of the whole position see Dr W. Headlam *On Editing Aeschylus*, pp. 138 foll.

178—185. According to Greek tradition Zeus and the dynasty of Zeus were the third in succession to supreme power, having expelled Kronos, father of Zeus (ὅς ἐπειρ' ἔφν), who had expelled his father Ouranos (ὅστις πάριθεν ἦν) Aeschylus, relieving the legend of its grotesque details, reproduces it so as to mark the two points which he requires, that there is a Supreme Ruler, and that he won his position by a contest.

178. ὅστις vague, 'he, whatever he was,

who'. This earliest power has almost ceased to be discernible even in tradition.

179. παρμάχῳ victorious: but the word is used, like τριακτῆρ and ἐπινίκια, to sustain the metaphor from gymnastic contests: πάμμαχος was specially associated with the παγ-κράτιον (see L. and Sc. s. v.).—βρύων. βρύω to teem, to sprout describes generally richness and fulness of life and is here applied to animal vigour: cf. the metaphor of the sap in v. 77.

180. οὐδ' ἀλέγεται πρὶν ὧν (Margo-liouth) will scarce be proved to have once been, literally 'will not so much as be proved', an expressive phrase for destruction which has left no trace.—ὧν: imperfect participle.—This seems the best restoration suggested. It is as near to the MS. as οὐδὲ λέγεται and better in sense.

181. τριακτῆπος properly a wrestler who throws his opponent three times, thus winning the victory. See *Eum.* 391.

183—185. But he that by forecast giveth titles (κλᾶζων) of victory to Zeus, shall be right in the guess of his thought, or, if κλᾶζων be read 'he that singeth the hymn of victory to Zeus.' In plain words 'Zeus may be trusted in all' See Appendix E.

186—188. Who leadeth men to understanding under this law, that they learn a truth by the suffering of it. This is one sentence, in which δδάσαντα is the principal verb and θέντα a subordinate

μνησιπήμων πόνος· 190  
 καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν.  
 δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βιαίως  
 σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.  
 καὶ τόθ' ἡγεμὼν ὁ πρέ- ἀντ. β'.  
 σβυς νεῶν Ἀχαικῶν, 195  
 μάντιν οὔτινα ψέγων,  
 ἐμπαίοις τύχαισι συμπνέων,  
 εὖτ' ἀπλοῖα κεναγ-  
 γεῖ βαρύνοντ' Ἀχαικὸς λεῶς  
 Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων παλιρρό- 200

participle, equivalent to *ὅς ἔδωκε*. *θελς* κτλ.—*ἔδωσαντα* gnomic aorist.—In the second and properly participial clause, the emphasis is on *τῷ πάθει*, constructed as instrumental with *μάθος*. The whole phrase *τῷ πάθει μάθος* (*learning by the suffering*) is the subject of *κυρίως ἔχειν* *to be established*.—*τὸν δδῶσαντα, τὸν θέντα* Schutz, a doubtful change, though attractive at first sight and followed in many texts. The clause *τὸν δδῶσαντα* should not be a separate proposition; the point is not that Zeus teaches mankind, but that he has imposed upon them one universal condition of learning. See next note.

189—191. *For it bleeds, where it lies dormant, an ache that keeps before the mind the memory of the hurt.* The admonitory recollection of experience is compared to a wound which long afterwards will ache at times and even break out again, reminding the sufferer of the original hurt. The subject to *στάζει* is *τὸ πάθος* (as is clear if *τῷ πάθει* be retained in the preceding clause) which passes in the metaphor into the restricted sense of *a hurt*: cf *Eum.* 499 *πολλὰ παιδότηρῳα πάθει*.—*πόνος* stands in apposition to the subject—*πρὸ καρδίας* depends upon *μνησιπήμων*—*ἐνθ' ὑπνῷ* literally *wherever it sleeps*, i.e. wherever

there is such a dormant hurt *ὑπνῷ* is the Doric contraction for *ὑπνῶη* (or for *ὑπνῶει* indicative). The intransitive use of *ὑπνῶω* is Homeric, but like many other archaic forms and usages does not appear in prose until after the best age.—The language here is all taken from the poetical vocabulary of medicine, and may be illustrated from the *Philoctetes* and elsewhere. For *στάζειν* *to ooze, break out* see *Phil.* 783 *στάζει γὰρ αἶμα μοι φοῖνις τόδε κηκίον αἶμα*: and for the application of the word to that from which the flowing comes see *Cho.* 1056 *ἐξ ὀμμάτων στάξουσιν αἶμα δυσφύλοι*. For the metaphor of sleep applied to a dormant pain which ceases and recurs see *Phil.* 649 *φύλλον ὃ κοιμῷ τόδ' ἔλκος*: for *πόνος* *pain, ache* *Phil.* 637 *καί μοι σπουδὴ πόνου λήξαςτος*: for *πῆμα* *inf.* 841, *Soph. Ai.* 582 *τομῶν πῆμα* *a hurt that needs the knife*—*ἐν θ' ὑπνῷ* (M) assumes the construction *στάζει* *τε δὲ ἐν ὑπνῷ πόνος, καὶ ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν*, *when in sleep the wound smart, then wisdom comes* (*τε καί=simul ac*), where *ὑπνος* is or may be the real sleep of the sinner, night being the time of repentance. See Dr W. Headlam *Class. Rev.* xvii. 241.—*ἄκοντας* *without their will* rather than *against their will*, *ἄκων* being merely the negative of *ἐκόν*. So *θελοῦσ' ἀκοντι κοινῶναι κακῶν* *take unwillingly thy part of*

the hurt, so that wisdom comes to them without their will. And it is perhaps a mercy from a Power, who came by struggle to his majestic seat.

Thus it was with the Achæan admiral, the elder of the twain. A prophet, thought he, is not to blame; so he bent before the blast; and when his folk began to weary of hindering winds and empty cask, still lying over against Chalcis, where the tides

suffering with him who hath no will (*Theb.* 1024). The point here is not so much that men will not be wise as that except through suffering they perhaps could not.

192—193. *And it is perhaps a mercy from a Deity who came by struggle to his majestic seat.* The subject is still πάθος, suffering regarded as a discipline.—βιαῶς ... ἡμένων 'to be seated by force' has two possible meanings, (1) 'to have taken a seat by force', (2) 'to have been forced to take a seat' ('to sit in might' is impossible). Here the context decides for the first.—δαιμόνων. The plural must not be pressed, and is in fact not correctly represented by a plural in English. Zeus only is in view, but the plural indicates (as usual) that the character or position rather than the person is described.—Note carefully the emphasis on δαιμόνων. The point is that heaven as well as earth is under the general law. This is the moral, or rather part of the moral, which the poet draws from the legendary theology which he has given in outline. The necessity of suffering as a discipline is perhaps taught by the tradition that the Deity itself has known progression and that 'Zeus' did not reign till he had first overcome.—σέλαμα: the metaphor is perhaps from place in a ship (cf. *v.* 1615); ὑπὸ ζυγῶς γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς schol. see *Hom. II.* 8. 69 (Wecklein). But the use of σέλαμα does not necessarily imply this—δὲ αἰῶς (= αἰῶνος?) H. V. Macnaghten, δὲ αἰῶ (αἰῶνα) J. A. Platt βίαιος or βιαία W. Headlam l c

194—227. The story is resumed, and proceeds in one sweeping period to the

sacrifice of Iphigenia, the circumstances of which suggested the foregoing parenthesis. καὶ τότε so on that occasion etc. ἡγεμῶν δ' ἑπείβητος The substance of the sentence here commenced is this, 'Agamemnon, in spite of the divine warning, resolved in the end to slay his child'. The verb comes in *v.* 215 (εἶπε), where, after long preliminary clauses, the main sentence is resumed with a δέ, and for more clearness the subject is repeated almost in the same words, ἀναξὶς δ' ἑπείβητος.

196—197. *Remembering that a prophet is not to blame (for his message) and bending to the buffets of fortune.* The old men, though unable to excuse the king's crime, make the best of his case, and give to his acquiescence this courteous turn. πάντιν οὐτινα ψέγων literally 'blaming no prophet', embracing this particular case under the general rule.—Wecklein contrasts *Hom. II.* 1. 106 μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πῶ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήνην εἶπας αἰεὶ τοι τὰ κακ' ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι etc. (Agamemnon to Calchas), and observes that such opposition would have been more in place at Aulis.—συμπνέων 'blowing the same way as ...'. the metaphor seems to be taken, by contrast, from the act of struggling against the wind. ἑμπαλοῖς: a unique and obscure word, perhaps to be connected with παῖω (ἐμπαῖσδραῖς schol.): seemingly 'disposed to yield to fortune as it might strike'. Wecklein refers the metaphor to the beating of waves upon a ship.

198 κενάγγελ. As an ancient army depended almost entirely on foraging for provisions, to be detained on their own shore threatened starvation

θοις ἐν Αὐλίδος τόποις·  
 πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι στρ γ'.  
 κακόσχολοι, νήστιδες, δύσορμοι,  
 βροτῶν ἄλαι,  
 ναῶν καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς, 205  
 παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθεῖσαι  
 τρίβῳ κατέξαινον ἄν-  
 θος Ἀργείων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ  
 πικροῦ χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ  
 βριθύτερον πρόμοισιν 210  
 μάντις ἔκλαγξε προφέρων  
 Ἄρτεμιν, ὥστε χθόνα βάκτροις  
 ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρείδας  
 δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν.—  
 ἀναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς τόδ' εἶπε φωνῶν· ἀντ. γ'. 215  
 βαρεῖα μὲν κῆρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,  
 βαρεῖα δ', εἰ  
 τέκνον δαίξω, δόμων ἄγαλμα,  
 μαινῶν παρθενοσφάγοισιν  
 ῥέεθροις πατρῷους χέρας 220  
 βωμοῦ πέλας. τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ  
 κακῶν; πῶς λιπόνανς γένωμαι  
 ξυμμαχίας ἀμαρτῶν;  
 παυσανέμου γὰρ θυσίας  
 παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὀργᾷ 225  
 περιόργως, ἐπιθυμῶν  
 θέμις. εὖ γὰρ εἴη.

207. κατέξαινον (αι m).  
 αι

216. πιθέσθαι.

203. νήστιδες *hungry*, because they make to hunger.

204. βροτῶν ἄλαι doubtful. Mr Housman would refer this ἄλαι to the stem of ἄλλω *to grind*, and render it by *tribulation*. This gives a perfectly simple sense and is very attractive, although the known derivatives of this stem seem to

be literal only, not metaphorical. That this ἄλαι should coexist with ἄλαι *wandering*, itself extremely rare and only poetical, is quite likely. — Those who take ἄλαι here to mean *wandering*, explain it as meaning that the winds make the men wander, either literally in search of forage, or metaphorically in their minds, i.e. drive

of Aulis rush to and fro, while still the gales blew thwart from Strymon, stayed them and starved them, and penned them in port, grinding the mén and making of ship and tackle a prodigal waste, and with lapse of time, doubled over and over, still withering the flower of Argos away; then at last, when the prophet's voice pointed to Artemis, and told of yet one more means to cure the tempest's bane, a means pressing more on the princes, which made the sons of Atreus beat their staves upon the ground and let the tear roll down:—the elder then of the twain found voice and said:

'Sore is my fate if I obey not, and sore if I must slay my child, the jewel of my home, staining paternal hands with virgin stream from the victim at the altar's side. Are not the two ways woeful both? How can I fail my fleet and lose my soldiery? For eager is their craving that, to stay the winds, her virgin blood should be offered up, and well they may desire it. May it be for the best!'

222. *τι πῶς λιπόναυστε* (text h).

them mad. But both explanations seem artificial

205—208. On the metre see Appendix II. *νεῶν* Pauw, *τε καὶ* Porson.

208. *ἔπει*: the subordinate clause commenced at *εὔτε* (v. 198) takes a fresh start.

211. *ἔκλαγξε*: for the tone of this word see on v. 184, Appendix E—The lengthening of *ε* before *πρ* is epic. *ἔκλαγεν* Porson—*προφέρων* "Ἀρτεμιν 'putting forward Artemis', i.e. citing her demands as his reason and defence. See L. and Sc. s. v.

215. *ῥά*. See on v. 194. For *τότ'* Stanley *τότ'*. The adverb would be effective as resuming the previous *τότε* in v. 194. For *τόδε* see v. 418 (Wecklein). —*ἐῖπε φωνῶν* 'spoke in words', or 'with articulate voice' (the proper meaning of *φωνῶν*), as contrasted with the 'unchecked tears' of the previous verse, in English found voice and said.

216. *τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι* (Turnebus) *to refuse obedience* is more pointed than *τὸ*

*μὴ πείθεσθαι* *to hold out*, and is favoured though not absolutely required by the metre.

220. *ῥέθοις* pronounced *βέθοις* and so written in h.—On the metre see Appendix II.

222. *πῶς .. γένομαι*, 'how can I be?' i.e. 'how can I bear to be?'

224—226. *For eager is their craving that to stay the winds her virgin blood should be offered up, and well they may desire it.*—*ὄργῃ* (see *ὄργω*) has for subject *συμμαχία*, and takes the dependent genitives according to rule.—*ἐπιθυμεῖν θέμις* literally 'it being permissible that they should desire it'. The use in this clause of the weaker word (*ἐπιθυμεῖν* as compared with *ὄργῃ*) aids the intended point, 'they crave it eagerly, and for desiring it cannot be blamed', that is, their 'desire, however keen, is not unreasonable'. Agamemnon endeavours to persuade himself that he yields from a sense of duty.—For the absolute use of *θέμις* cf. the similar use of *χρεῶν*, a word parallel



ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδν λέπαδνον στρ. δ'.  
 φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῇ τροπαίαν  
 ἄναγον, ἀνίερν, τόθεν 230  
 τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνων.  
 βροτοῖς† θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις  
 τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων.  
 ἔτλα δ' οὖν θυτῆρ  
 γενέσθαι θυγατρός, γυναικοποι- 235  
 νων πολέμων ἄρωγαν  
 καὶ προτέλεια ναῶν.  
 λιτὰς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατρώους ἀντ. δ'  
 παρ' οὐδέν, αἰῶνα παρθένειον,  
 ἔθεντο φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς, 240  
 φράσεν δ' ἀόζοις πατὴρ μετ' εὐχὰν  
 δίκαν χιμαίρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ  
 πέπλοισι περιπετῇ παντὶ θυμῷ

in its uses throughout, e.g. οὐ χρεῶν ἄρχετε Thuc. 3 40, and see L. and Sc s. v.—I suggest that this punctuation and construction remove the objections properly made if *πανσανέμουν*. θέμις (ἐστὶ) be taken as one sentence, viz. (1) that *ἐπιθυμεῖν* requires a pronominal subject to show that the sentence is not general, and (2) that *ὀργῇ* (dative of *ὀργή*) *περι- ὀργως ἐπιθυμεῖν* is verbose. For proposed changes see Wecklein, Appendix.—*περι- ὀργως* Blomfield, as from *περιοργής*. Either form is correct, and duplicate forms in both terminations are common.

227 γὰρ *then* (not *for*), in effect the English *well*

230 τοθεν.. μετέγνων *from that moment he took to his heart unflinching resolve*. Constr. μετέγνων τὸ παντότολμον ὥστε φρονεῖν αὐτό.—μεταγινώσκω here has an acc object of the feeling assumed, not as more commonly of the feeling quitted (μεταγινώσκειν ἄταν *to repent folly*)

232—233. The reading is doubtful.

M punctuates thus, ..μετέγνων βροτοῖς θρασύνει γὰρ, and has a schol. to v. 230 ὅθεν ἔγνων πάντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τολμᾶν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης δῆλον εἶναι, which apparently assumes the same punctuation but, instead of *βροτοῖς*, the acc *βροτοῦς*, translated by *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*. That the preceding sentence ends at *μετέγνων* seems certain. The text commonly received is that of Spanheim. . μετέγνων βροτοῖς θρασύνει γὰρ., which is adopted provisionally in the translation, but is unsatisfactory because (among other reasons) the emphatic position of *βροτοῖς* is incorrect; it would seem to oppose *mortals*, who are emboldened by infatuation, to others (whom?) who are not.—In the former edition I read βρότοις (*sic*) θρασύνει γὰρ, translating *For to put faith in the shedding of blood is an obstinate delusion*, literally, 'for by bloodshed takes confidence an obstinate delusion'. This, as further explained in my note, I still think possible, but it obviously depends on the assumption that the letters *βροτοῖς*

So, having put on his neck the harness of Necessity, his spirit set to the new quarter, impious, wicked, unholy, and from that moment he took to his heart unflinching resolve. For mortals (?) are emboldened by an obstinate delusion, whose base counsel is the beginning of sin. Howsoever he did not shrink from slaving a victim daughter, to aid war-waged for a stolen wife, and to wed unto him his fleet! —

—Her prayers, her cries to her father, mere life-breath of a girl, the spectators, eager for battle, regarded not at all. Her father, after prayer, gave word to the ministers, while casting her robes about her she bowed herself desperately down, to lift her, as it

can be trusted. In view of the schol., which, as Dr Headlam observes, I overlooked, this is so uncertain, that I should now prefer to leave the problem unsolved.—τάλαινα *hard, obstinate*, see v 396.

234 δ' οὖν *however*, for good or ill.

235. θυγατρός, γυναικοποιών. The antithesis is significant, 'the daughter being a blood-relation, the wife a stranger' (Sidgwick), and moreover exposes the moral monstrosity of supporting a cause, which rested on the sanctities of the family, by an offence against those very obligations.

236 ἄρωγάν in apposition to the action (τὸ θύειν) of the verb θυτὴρ γενέσθαι.

237 προτέλεια see on v. 63, 249 and Lucretius 1. 96 foll. 'non ut scillemini more sacrorum perfecto posset (Iphigenia) claro comitari Hymenaeο, sed casta inceste nubendi tempore in ipso hostia concideret'.

238—240. *For her prayers and appeals to her father, (mere) life-breath of a girl, the spectators, eager for war, cared not at all.* βραβής, this word, of uncertain origin, seems to combine, like the Latin *arbiter*, the meanings of *judge* and *spectator* (Eur. *Hel.* 703, and see editor's note on Eur. *Med.* 274), the fundamental sense being probably *witness*. Here it means in full 'spectators on whom the decision depended'.—αἰῶνα παρθένοιον. These words, as placed, should be related as an

explanation to παρ' οὐδὲν ἔθεντο. This is adverse to the corrections αἰῶνα παρ-θένοιον τ' (and *her virgin life*) Elmsley, αἰῶ τε παρθένοιον (O. Muller). αλαγμία παρθένοιον (Karsten) is admissible. But perhaps no change is required. That αἰῶνα should stand in apposition to λιτάς καὶ κληθόνας seems unnatural to our ears because we (rightly as a matter of science) connect αἰών (αἰφών) *life* with αἰώνιον and take it to mean *time, life-time*. But the Greek poets apparently associated it rather with ἀνιμι and αἰῶ to *breathe*, and took it to mean properly *life-breath*. Thus Euripides actually has ἀνέπνευσεν αἰῶνα (*fr.* 787 Dindorf) *drew breath*, and the same conception underlies such phrases as ψυχὴ καὶ αἰών, αἰών πέφαται, αἰώνας στερέειν, which ignore the idea of 'time'. If αἰῶνα could mean, or even suggest, *breath*, the text here is not impossible, but expressive; and it must not hastily be dismissed.

243. πέπλοισι περιπετιτὴ wrapped in (*i.e.* wrapping herself in) *her robes* contrast v. 249.—πρὸνῳπῇ: προνευκυῖαν schol. *bent or bowed forward*.—παντ... δέρδην variously interpreted (1) *drooping in all her soul* (suggested by Paley), (2) *to raise unfalteringly the drooping maid* (Sidgwick and the majority); 'the order of the words marks the sharp antithesis; they were to be eager, she was fainting with fear and grief' (S), (3) *to raise her bowed (over the altar)* 'so as to

προνωπῇ λαβεῖν  
 ἀέρδην, στόματός τε καλλιπρώ- 245  
 ρου φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν  
 φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἴκοις  
 βίᾳ χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδῳ μένει. στρ. ε'.  
 κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα  
 ἔβαλλ' ἑκαστον θυτή- 250  
 ρων ἀπ' ὄμματος βέλει  
 φιλοίκτω,  
 πρέπουσά θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσεννέπειν  
 θέλουσ', ἐπεὶ πολλάκις  
 πατρὸς κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους 255  
 ἔμελψεν, ἀγνῆ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδᾷ  
 πατρὸς φίλου τρίτόσπονδον εὐποτμον  
 παῖδνα φίλως ἐτίμα.  
 τὰ δ' ἐνθεν οὐτ' εἶδον οὐτ' ἐννέπω· ἀντ. ε'.  
 τέχναι δὲ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἄκραντοι· 260  
 δίκαι δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦ.

256. ἀγνῆ. αὐδᾶ.

258. αἰῶνα.

present her neck to the sacrificer' (Wecklein). None of these is quite satisfactory. The order of the words *πέπλοισι προνωπῇ* suggests that *παντὶ θυμῷ* refers to the victim, and in fact makes any other interpretation seem artificial. An antithesis between *παντὶ θυμῷ* and *προνωπῇ* would have been satisfied just as well by the order *προνωπῇ παντὶ θυμῷ*, and this order would be natural, if *παντὶ θυμῷ* were constructed with *λαβεῖν*. This points to (1); but *προνωπῆς*, which describes an attitude not a state of mind, and *παντὶ θυμῷ*, which elsewhere means *energetically, resolutely*, will hardly bear the interpretation required. As to (3) we must note further that the sacrificer would strike the throat, not the back of the neck (see the sacrifice of Polyxena, Eur. *Hec.* 565—567, *λαίμῳ εὐτρεπῆς ὄψε* and *τέμνει πνεύματος διαρροῆς*).—I would suggest for

consideration the rendering *desperately bowed down*: the victim struggles with the energy of despair to retain her attitude and not to be raised into the posture for sacrifice with the throat exposed. This satisfies the order, and makes the two phrases *πέπλοισι περιπετῇ*, *παντὶ θυμῷ προνωπῇ* parallel, as by their arrangement they should be: both mark the struggle of the victim.

245 Constr. *στόμ.-καλλ.-φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν φθόγγῳ κτλ.*, literally 'and, by way of guard upon her fair lips, they should restrain' etc. *φυλακὰν* is acc. in apposition to the action, see *ἀρωγὰς*, v. 236. It is unusual that an accusative of this kind should stand before the verb which it explains, but it seems to be so meant here. Others make the acc. *στόμα* depend on *φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν* *to keep guard* (Wecklein). But against this is

were a kid, over the altar, and, for prevention of her beautiful lips, to stop the voice that might curse his house with the dumb, cruel violence of the gag.

And she, as she let fall to earth her saffron robe, smote each one of the sacrificers with glance of eye that sought their pity, and seemed, like as in a painting, fain to speak: and oft indeed had she sung where men were met at her father's noble board, with pure voice virginally doing dear honour to the grace and blessing that crowned her father's feast.

What followed I saw not, neither do I tell. The rede of Calchas doth not lack fulfilment. Yet is it the law that only to

κατασχέω *check*.—φυλακῇ. Blomfield, cuts the knot, and is perhaps right.—καλλιπρώρου. See on *Theb.* 520.

248. βία μένει. This fine expression takes special emphasis from its position in the new strophe (Wecklein).

249. *Her robe of saffron*, the dress of a princess and a maiden. So Antigone unties 'the saffron splendour of her robe' στολίδος προκρέσσαν τρυφάν, *Eur. Phoen.* 1491 (Sidgwick). There is perhaps also an allusion to the hymenaeal associations of the colour (see on *v.* 237). It does not appear whether Aeschylus knew or followed the story of the pretended marriage (see *Eur. Iph. Aul.*) by which Agamemnon brought his daughter to Aulis—διδ. the position is natural, κρόκου βαφάς being inseparable and in effect one word—χέουσα ἱβέλλει. see Appendix II.

253. πρίπουσά τε: joined with χέουσα because both the action and the mute look make an appeal to their pity for her youth and beauty. See *Eur. Hec.* 558 foll. (Wecklein.)

254. They knew the voice that would have spoken, and had reason to associate it with pathetic remembrance of her proud and happy maidenhood.—The connection marked by *ἐνταῦθα* is often much looser than with our conjunctions of inference. Unless we supply the connecting link (as here 'and her look was vocal to them, for' etc.) we should render simply by 'and' or 'and indeed'.

258. παῖᾱνα (Hartung, Enger). A banquet was followed by libations, usually three, the third to Zeus the Preserver (Σωτήρ). "With the end of the libations came the paean or song. So in Plato's Symposium, εἶπε δειπνήσαντας σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ᾄσαντας τὸν θεόν." (S.). The whole in fact was a sort of 'grace'. In all ritual acts, especially those connected like the paean with the worship of Apollo, personal purity was of great importance (see *Theb.* 156, 251, 254, *Eur. Ion* 150 οἷος ἀπ' ἐνῶς ὦν...φοίβῳ λατρεύων). Hence the emphasis here on ἀγνῇ ἀταύρωτος αὐδῇ. Whether the custom here implied, that the children, and particularly the virgins, of the family should sing or join in singing the 'grace', subsisted in Aeschylus' time, there is nothing to show positively. But it is natural and probable.

259. τὰ δ' ἐνθεν *what followed*, i.e. the sacrifice itself.

260. τέχνη science, i.e. his *divinations* as a seer by profession. Cf. *Soph. O. T.* 380 τέχνη τέχνης ὑπερφέρουσα. The immediate reference is to his suggestion of the sacrifice (*v.* 211), but the accomplishment of this raises also fears as to the threatened sequel (*v.* 260). Hence what here follows.

261. *It is the law, that to experience wisdom should fall*, i.e. that men should learn by their own sufferings, and seldom by anything else.—δίκαι properly 'wont'

σιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει.  
 τὸ μέλλον  
 ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις· πρὸ χαιρέτω.  
 ἴσον δὲ τῷ προστένειν.  
 265  
 τορὸν γὰρ ἥξει σύνορθον αὐταῖς.  
 πέλοιτο δ' οὖν τὰπὶ τούτοισιν εἴν, πρᾶ-  
 ξις ὡς θέλει· τόδ' ἄγχιστον, Ἀπίας  
 γαίας μονόφρουρον ἔρκος.

264. ἐπιγένοιτ'. προχαιρέτω.

267. εἴπρα-.

'way' and here 'nature of things'; for this use see on Eur. *Med.* 411 καὶ δὲ καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται *nature and the universe are turned upside down*. The metaphor in ἐπιρρέπει (literally 'inclines') suggests a comparison between the laws of the moral world and those of the physical. Wisdom 'gravitates' (if we may use the anachronism) to experience.—The rendering 'justice' should be avoided. The 'law' is far from being manifestly just; on the contrary it raises, as Aeschylus has shown above, moral difficulties.

263—265. ἐπεὶ later MSS.—πρὸ χαιρέτω H. L. Ahrens.—*As for the future, one may hear it when it comes to pass, ere that, I care not for the hearing, 'tis but anticipating sorrow* κλύοις ἂν is the principal verb, γένοιτο optative indefinite assimilated to κλύοις. The subject of χαιρέτω (literally 'let it be bidden good-bye' s. r. 'let it keep at a distance') is τὸ κλύειν supplied from κλύοις ἂν. πρὸ is adverbial. The same τὸ (πρὸ) κλύειν is the subject of ἴσον (ἴσῃ) τῷ προστένειν 'hearing of it before is equivalent to lamenting it before'.—The sentiment is directed against the usefulness of divination.—After μέλλον in M a later hand has inserted τὸ δὲ προσκλύειν. These words, excluded by the metre, have arisen from a marginal explanation of the following clauses.

266. For it will come clear and right,

when the science itself comes clear and right, literally 'clear it will come, made right together with the divination itself'. The subject is still τὸ κλύειν. When the thing is accomplished, it will be told clearly and rightly. Till then the prophecy itself is never clear and cannot therefore be known to be right.—αὐταῖς emphatic. In Aeschylus this pronoun generally is so. We supply ταῖς τέχναις from v. 260; as the intervening sentences contain nothing to which αὐταῖς could be referred, and *divination* is the topic of the whole passage, this does not seem impossible, though it is obscure.—Prof. Goodwin also retains the text, and refers αὐταῖς to τέχναις, but renders thus 'the future will come clear in accord with them (the prophecies)'.—The received emendation σύνορθον αὐγαῖς (Wellauer, Hermann) is possible, but unsafe. The subject is taken to be τὸ μέλλον, and the sentence explained thus: 'as the rising sun suddenly lightens the darkness, so will the fulfilment of the prophecy bring first and at once a clear confirmation' (Wecklein). But surely this sense is hard to extract from the words 'for the future will come clear, dawning together with the light'.—If the text is not sufficiently clear, I would read αὐταῖς (dat. r. of αὐτῶν, which is often used thus independently for 'the matter in question'), translating thus, 'for it (the hearing of events) will come clear and true when the events



experience knowledge should fall: when the future comes, then thou mayst hear of it; ere that, I care not for the hearing, which is but anticipating sorrow; it will come clear, hearing and prophecy both true together. Enough: let us pray for such immediate good, as present act requires. Here is our next concern, this fortress, sole protection of the Argive land.

themselves come'. This however I do not think necessary or desirable.

267—269. *Let us pray then for such immediate good, as the present occasion needs. Our nearest concern is this fortress, sole protection of the Argive land.* Dismissing (δ' οὖν) useless speculation as to the future, they turn to what is near and practical, the present safety of the fortress, exposed to special danger by the absence of its lord and, as hereafter appears, from the state of the country (vv. 463—466). It must be remembered that the elders are at present, as the following question shows, wholly ignorant as to the meaning or purpose of the nocturnal alarm. They do not even know whether, as the celebration suggests, good news has actually been received.—The antithesis of present and future is marked in three ways: (1) τὰνι τοῦτοιςιν 'the immediate sequel', literally 'what comes next to this present': (2) πρᾶξις ὡς θέλει literally 'as practical action (business) demands'. πρᾶξις is here = τὸ πρασσόμενον, the matter in hand, the thing to be done, as opposed to what can only be matter of guessing or speculation. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1334 μέλλοντα ταῦτα· τῶν προκειμένων τι χρὴ πρᾶσσειν. The stress upon πρᾶξις, and its pregnant force, are marked by the position of the word in its clause. Somewhat similar is the Homeric use of οὐ τις πρᾶξις πέλεται γόοιο 'nothing practical comes of lamentation' (and see L. and Sc. s.v. πρᾶξις): (3) τόδ' ἀγχιστόν (ἴσται) here is our nearest concern; for ἀγχιστόν 'nearest (in concern)' cf. ὁ ἀγχιστός 'the person most nearly concerned', Soph. *El.* 1105. It is best to take this as a separate

sentence, but possible also without change of the meaning to take τὸδε ἔρκος as in apposition to τὰνι τοῦτοιςιν 'the immediate matter, our nearest concern' etc.—'Ἀπίας γαλας ἔρκος: the fortress, citadel, or castle of the Attridae. Where precisely in the Argolid we are to suppose this, whether at the site of Argos or elsewhere, Aeschylus does not determine. The example of Sophocles (see commentaries on the prologue to the *Electra*) shows that such details were not within the knowledge of the audience (perhaps not of the poets) and would not have been appreciated. The play assumes nothing but such general facts, as could not but be intelligible, the plain, the sea, the mountains, and a fortress. For 'Ἀρία γαλα Argolis see L. and Sc. s.v.: for γαλας ἔρκος cf. Eur. *Herac.* 441 τοῖον δὲ γαλας ἔρκος (city) οὐκ ἀφίγμεθα;—These lines are generally given (by those who do not alter the words) thus: πέλοιστο... εὐπραξίς, ὡς θέλει... ἔρκος 'let good fortune follow, as is the wish of this one sole defence of Argos, bound by close ties', the last words being taken to describe either the speakers or Clytaemnestra. But (1) εὐπραξίς or εὐπραξίς for εὐπραγία, is an incorrect form: this objection has been frequently raised and many emendations are based on it: and further (2) γαλας ἔρκος is not a proper or intelligible description of a person or persons; in translation this is partly concealed by the use of the abstract 'defence', but ἔρκος is *prima facie* material, and could not, I think, be otherwise understood without more explanation than is here given.

ἤκω σεβίζων σόν, Κλυταιμήστρα, κράτος· 270  
 δίκη γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς ἀρχηγοῦ τίειν  
 γυναικ' ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσεως θρόνου.  
 σὺ δ' εἴτε κεδνὸν εἴτε μὴ πεπυσμένη  
 εὐαγγέλοισιν ἐλπίσιν θυηπολεῖς,  
 κλύοιμ' ἂν εὖφρων· οὐδὲ σιγῶσθι φθόνος. 275

## ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ.

εὐάγγελος μὲν, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία,  
 ἕως γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα.  
 πεύσει δὲ χάρμα μείζον ἐλπίδος κλύειν.  
 Πριάμου γὰρ ἡρήκασιν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν.  
 ΧΟ. πῶς φῆς; πέφευγε τοῦπος ἐξ ἀπιστίας. 280  
 ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιῶν οὔσαν· ἡ τορῶς λέγω;  
 ΧΟ. χαρά μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυον ἐκκαλουμένη.  
 ΚΛ. εὖ γὰρ φρονούντος ὄμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ.  
 ΧΟ. τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; ἔστι τῶνδ' εἰ σοὶ τέκμαρ;  
 ΚΛ. ἔστιν, τί δ' οὐχί; μὴ δολώσαντος θεοῦ. 285  
 ΧΟ. πότερα δ' ὀνείρων φάσματ' εὐπιθῇ σέβεις;  
 ΚΛ. οὐ δόξαν ἂν λάβοιμι βριζούσης φρενός.

273. δ' εἰ τὸ corr. to text.

286. εὐπειθεῖ corr. to εὐπειθῇ

270. σεβίζων...κράτος *i.e.* in obedience to her command. Here Clytemnestra comes forth attended (see v. 363).

273—275. *Whether tidings good or not good prompt thee to celebrate this ceremony of hopeful announcement, I would gladly learn, though, if thou wouldst keep the secret, I am content.* κεδνὸν literally 'a good thing', cf θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς, δροπον λέγεις, etc. Kühner *Gl. Gr.* § 403 —With μὴ supply κεδνόν. The elders, as persons worthy of the queen's confidence, wish to know whether her rejoicing is genuine or a feint. She has implied that she has good news; but as she has not disclosed it, they feel a natural doubt whether in reality she is not merely trying to forestall and discredit a *bad* report which has reached her and may get abroad. This explains

the addition οὐδὲ σιγῶσθι φθόνος. Only on the supposition that the news was really bad could the queen have any motive for such concealment. The elders, preoccupied with the dangers near home, attribute their fears to the queen; she herself had pretended to share them (see v. 874).—εὐαγγέλοισιν ἐλπίσιν, dative (Latin ablative) of circumstance, literally 'with fair-announcing hopes', *i.e.* with promising announcement; see v. 101 ἐκ θησιῶν φαίνουσ' ἐλπίς.—εἴ τι (Auratus) is widely adopted, and perhaps right.—Another possible interpretation is 'But whether thou hast heard some good news, or hast not heard any, but art sacrificing in the *hope* of such' etc. But the mere expectation of news would be no probable motive for the ceremony.

276—278. She corrects their expres-

*Enter* CLYTAEMNESTRA, Conspirators, etc.

I am come, Clytaemnestra, in observance of thy royalty. 'Tis right to render respect to the sovereign and queen, when the husband's throne is empty. Now whether tidings good or not good have moved thee by this ceremony to announce good hope, I would gladly learn from thee: though if thou wouldst keep the secret, I am content.

*Clytaemnestra.* For 'good', as says the proverb, may the kind morn announce it from her kind mother night. But 'hope' is something short of the joy thou art to hear. The Argive army hath taken Priam's town.

*An Elder.* How sayest thou? I scarce caught the words, so incredible they were

*Cl.* I said that Troy is ours. Do I speak clear?

*Eld.* 'Tis joy that surprises me and commands a tear.

*Cl.* Yes, 'tis a loyal gladness of which thine eye accuses thee.

*Eld.* And what then is the proof? Hast thou evidence for this?

*Cl.* I have indeed, if miracle deceive me not.

*Eld.* Is it a dream-sign that commands thine easy credence?

*Cl.* No fancy would I accept from a brain bemused.

sion εὐαγγελισαὶν ἐλπῖσι, accepting εὐάγγελος with the remark that, according to the proverb, men look for good news in the morning, but rejecting ἐλπίς, as her news leaves nothing further to hope.—The proverb plays upon the ambiguity of εὐφρόνη, *night* and *kindness* (Hesych. cf. δυσφρόνη), signifying 'May Night, according to her *kind* name, send her child Morning with a *kind* message' (Siddgwick). This εὐφρόνη echoes the elder's εὐφρων.—μείζον· κλύειν *importing more than hope*, literally 'greater than hope to the hearing'. It is μείζον ἐλπίδος also in another sense 'greater than could be imagined', but this sense is only for the queen and the audience.

281. οὖσαν: cf Soph. *El.* 676 θανάτῳ 'Ὁρέστην νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι λέγω (Wecklein)

282—3. Emphasis on χαρά and on εὖ. 'My tear is the tear of joy' 'Yes, it is

*loyal gladness* (not disloyal sorrow) of which thine eye accuses thee'.—κατηγορεῖ: the misapplication of the word sounds like a kindly jest, but is grim earnest. The loyalty of the elders is their crime, as they are soon to find.

284. This punctuation (Prien, Siddgwick) is demanded by the form of the answer ἔστιν.—τὸ πιστόν 'what you rely on', *the proof*.

286. εὐπιθή Elomfield, the correct form according to analogy.—εὐπιθή σέβεις together, 'pay the respect of an easy credence to': εὐπιθήs literally 'easily believed'.—δνείρων, suggested by μὴ δολώσαντος θεοῦ. a false dream would be a 'miraculous deceit'.

287. 'No *fancy* would I accept, no fancy of a mind asleep'. So we may perhaps justify the order of the words; but the reading must not be considered certain.—λάβοιμι, i.e. δεξαίμην, *sed quare*:

- ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἢ σ' ἐπ' ἀνέν τις ἄπτερος φάτις ;  
 ΚΛ. παῖδός νέας ὥς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας.  
 ΧΟ. ποίου χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις ; 290  
 ΚΛ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τόδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.  
 ΧΟ. καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν ἀγγέλων τάχος ;  
 ΚΛ. Ἦφαιστος, Ἴδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας·  
 φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἀγγάρου πυρὸς  
 ἔπεμπεν. Ἴδη μὲν πρὸς Ἑρμαῖον λέπας 295  
 Λήμνου· μέγαν δὲ πανὸν ἐκ νήσου τρίτον  
 Ἀθῶν αἶπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο  
 ὑπερτελής τε (πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι  
 ἰσχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονήν)  
 πεύκη, τὸ χρυσοφεγγές ὥς τις ἥλιος 300

294. ἀγγέλου.

296. φανών.

Adcock Karsten (not satisfactory) —On the note here cancelled (ed 1) see *Cho* 532 and note there.

288. ἐπ' ἀνέν has cheered or encouraged thee, from ἐπ' αἰνώ, where ἐπ' has the same force (up to a certain point) as in ἐπαίρω, and αἰνώ its usual meaning (see L. and Sc. s. v. αἰνώ).—This aorist is commonly referred to πάλω to fatten, taken in the sense of *plumping up*, but see Toup on Hesychius, cited by Blomfield *ad loc.* The use of πάλω and connected words does not support the supposed metaphor. See further Appendix F.—ἄπτερος φάτις. The context shows that this was some superstitious proof yet lower in the scale than a dream, probably something like 'a vague presentiment' (Paley, Kennedy). The meaning and origin of the phrase are unknown. It may or may not be derived from πτερόν (either in the sense of *wing* or of *ossein*), or connected with the Homeric τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἐπλετο μῦθος, which in its turn is doubtful.—'A report not winged' like the dream-god, i.e. brought without any dream (Wecklein).—'An unspoken rumour', cf. ἄπτερος μῦθος word unspoken (Sidgwick).

290. ποίου χρόνου literally 'within

what time lies the capture of the city?' i.e. how far back is it to be put?—ποῖον as compared with πόσον or τίνοι (*what sort of time*) gives the question the air of incredulous wonder. Compare the common use of ποῖος in contempt (L. and Sc. s. v.).—καί, emphasizing, assumes the fact, 'Since it is taken, since when is it?'

291. She points to the dawn just breaking.

294. ἀγγάρου Canter (Αἰσχύλος γούρην ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι τὸν ἐκ διαδοχῆς πυρρὸν ἀπ' ἀγγάρου πυρὸς' *Εφη Εἰ Μ* p. 7), a Persian word describing the couriers who transmitted orders by successive stages. Herodotus (8. 98) like Aeschylus compares it to the Greek λαμπαδοφορία (v. 324).—On the story which follows see the Introduction § 1.

296 πανόν Casaubon. πρότερος δὲ τούτων Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι μέμνηται τοῦ πανοῦ, Athen xv p. 700 E.—φανὸν is also good and classical; probably both are very ancient readings in this passage.

296—300. The subject of ἐξεδέξατο is the whole phrase Ἀθῶν... πεύκη, 'Athos and its beacon' (a 'hendiadys'). Note carefully that the conjunction is τε not δέ.



*Eld.* Yet canst thou have taken cheer from a voice that bore no sign?

*Cl.* Thou holdest my sense as low as it were a babe's.

*Eld.* And what like time is it since the city fell?

*Cl.* It fell, I say, in the night whence yonder light is this moment born.

*Eld.* But what messenger could arrive so quick?

*Cl.* The fire-god was the messenger. From Ida he sped forth the bright blaze, which beacon after beacon by courier flame passed on to us. Ida sent it first to Hermes' rock in Lemnos; and to the great bonfire on Lemnos' isle succeeded third Zeus' mountain of Athos, with such a soaring pile of wood upon it as might strengthen the travelling torch to pass joyously over the wide main; and this, with the golden light as it were

The periods of this narration are joined throughout by *δέ*. Here *τε* couples not periods but words.—*ὑπερτελής rising above all*.—*πόντον ἡδονήν*. This explains and gives the ground for *ὑπερτελής*. Clytaemnestra, vaguely aware that in this leap of the Aegæan she must be making a strong demand upon the faith of her hearers, enforces her statement with an explanation as to the size and height of this particular beacon.—*πόντον* properly 'the open sea' with emphasis.—*ισχύς*, in apposition to *πύκη*, 'strength to the flame' for 'strengthening the flame'; cf. *Theb.* 256 *δολιχυμόν, θάρσος φίλοις* 'the cry which encourages friends', *Ag.* 566 *δρόσοι, σίνος ἐσθημάτων* 'water, mischievous to garments' etc.—*πορευτοῦ .. πρὸς ἡδονήν* 'travelling unreluctantly' (*οὐ πρὸς βίαν*), not fearing the distance, as it were. This is in effect a predicate; the flame 'travelled gladly' because 'strengthened'.—*πύκη* usually a 'torch' of pine-wood, but here extended, like *λαμπάς* etc., to a 'bonfire' of the same.—See also next note.

300—301. *Which, with the golden light as it were of a sun, blazed on the message to the outlook on Makistos. τὸ χρυσοφειγγὲς .ἥλιος* literally 'as a sun its golden light', the verb (*sends*) being applied from *παράγγειλασα*. This is

better than to join *τὸ χρυσοφειγγὲς* with *σέλας*, as accounting better for the article *τὸ*.—*σκοπᾶς*. Commonly this accusative of place is found only with verbs of 'motion to', and not with verbs such as *παράγγειλλω*; and for this reason some read *σκοπαῖς*. But considering the metaphorical language of this passage, which represents the beacons throughout as a series of *couriers*, actually travelling with the message from post to post (so *πορευτοῦ* in this very sentence), the accusative seems intelligible and even advantageous. *παράγγειλλω* here means not 'to give a message' but 'to go with a message' and therefore takes the construction of a verb of motion.—*παράγγειλασα*. The tense is parallel to that of *ἐξεδέξατο*, and continues the story.

Recent editions treat this passage as corrupt, on the ground that *ὑπερτελής τε .σκοπᾶς*, being a fresh clause with a fresh subject, requires a fresh verb. On this view, which is of long standing, Hermann remarked: 'Nam *δέ* si *legetur, requireretur verbum pro nomine πύκη*...Nunc vero, *τε* posito, *ἐξεδέξατο* etiam ad sequentia refertur'. The text expresses the meaning better than divided clauses would do. The high mountain and the vast beacon are coupled, as jointly accomplishing the prodigious task.



σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπᾶς·  
 ὁ δ' οὔτι μέλλων οὐδ' ἀφρασμόνως ὕπνω  
 νικώμενος παρήκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος·  
 ἐκάς δὲ φρυκτοῦ φῶς ἐπ' Εὐρίπου ῥοὰς  
 Μεσσαπίου φύλαξι σημαίνει μολόν. 305  
 οἱ δ' ἀντέλαμψαν καὶ παρήγγειλαν πρόσω  
 γραίας ἐρείκης θωμὸν ἄψαντες πυρί.  
 σθένουσα λαμπὰς δ' οὐδέπω μαυρουμένη,  
 ὑπερθοροῦσα πεδίον...ωποῦ, δίκην  
 φαιδρᾶς σελήνης, πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνος λέπας, 310  
 ἤγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός.  
 φάος δὲ τηλέπομπον οὐκ ἠναίνετο  
 φρουρά, πλεόν καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων·  
 λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ Γοργῶπιν ἔσκηψεν φάος  
 ὄρος τ' ἐπ' Αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον 315  
 ὥτρυνε θεσμὸν μὴ χαρίζεσθαι πυρός.  
 πέμπονσι δ' ἀνδαίοντες ἀφθόνῳ μένει  
 φλογὸς μέγαν πᾶγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ

309. παιδίον ὥποῦ.

301. Μακίστου· ὅροι Εὐβοίας schol. Mr Sidgwick says 'in southern Euboea', Wecklein 'probably in the north' (as the nearer part to Athos). The question is of little moment; but the mountain by its name would seem to have been 'the highest', or so supposed, in the island; the highest part is about the centre, near Chalcis

302. ὁ δὲ: Makistos, *i.e.*, in the literalness of prose, the watchers thereon.— Here the story becomes comparatively reasonable. Of the country between Argos and Aulis Clytemnestra and the elders might naturally be supposed to have some knowledge. The distances are indeed, as the queen says, full long (*ἐκάς πρόσω*), running up to about 25 miles, in a real system other stages would probably have been interpolated for safety;

but her conception is conceivable

303. παρήκεν *neglected* —The rendering 'sent on' (Paley) lacks authority.

305. Μεσσαπίου in N Boeotia.

308. σθένουσα *taking strength afresh* from the fuel of Messapios, cf. *ισχύς* in v. 299

309. παιδίον .... ωποῦ. The defective word may be read either 'Ὀρωποῦ, as by Turnebus, or 'Ἀσωποῦ, as by the writers of the later mss. The first reading has the technical advantage of accounting better for the loss of the letters by similarity of syllables. On the other hand the later mss. may represent a tradition. The 'plain of the river Asopus' is the better description, having regard to the geography. But on the other hand 'the plain of Oropus', properly the maritime part of the plain of the Asopus;

of a sun, blazed on the message to the outlook on Makistos. Nor he for any delay, or for overcoming sleep, neglected heedlessly his messenger-part. Far over Euripus' stream came his beacon-light and gave the sign to the 'watchers of Messapios. These raised an answering light to pass the signal far away, with pile of withered heath which they kindled up. And the torch thus strengthened flagged not yet, but leaping, broad as a moon, over Asopus' plain to Cithaeron's scar, roused in turn the next herald of the fiery train; nor there did the sentinels refuse the far-heralded light, but made a bonfire higher than was bid, whose flying brightness lit beyond Gorgopis' water, and reaching the mount of Aegiplanctus, eagerly bade him not to slack the commanded fire. They sped it on, throwing high with force unstinted a flame like a great beard, which could even overpass,

was claimed and generally possessed by Athens, so that to name the whole from Oropus would have a popular sound to Athenian ears.

313. φρουρά: the watchers on Cithaeron.—πλίον καίονσα τῶν εἰρημένων 'making a fire larger than was enjoined' (Weil), literally 'more than what was bidden them (τὰ εἰρημένα)'. These words confirm and extend the phrase of the previous line οὐκ ἠράβετο, 'denied not' or 'disowned not'. In their enthusiasm the watchmen of Cithaeron, so far from showing reluctance, actually exceeded their instructions. See further Appendix G.

314. Γοργῶπιν: apparently a bay or estuary in the territory of Megara, N. E. of the Corinthian gulf.—Νύμφην φασὶν εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Hesychius; but the description must be very inaccurate, if it refers to the Νύμφη here mentioned.

315. Αἰγίπλαγκτον: obviously part of Geranea in the Megarid. δρος Μεγαρίδος schol.

316. Urged him to exact strictly the commanded fire. The fire from Cithaeron strives to rouse an enthusiasm like its own in others less ready. The receiving mountain is personified, like Μάκιστος in v. 301, but with a difference of character.

—θεσμὸν μὴ χαρίζεσθαι πυρός literally 'not to remit (to himself or his watch) the commandment of fire'. The use of χαρίζεσθαι here is generally condemned, and is difficult, though perhaps defensible. The sense and common constructions of the verb are closely similar to those of ποιεῖσθαι, and of such Latin verbs as *indulgere*, *remittere*, *condonare*, etc. We have on the one hand χαρίζεσθαι τί τινι 'to give up, surrender, sacrifice', and on the other hand χαρίζεσθαι τινι 'to be indulgent to, not strict with', as in χαρίζεσθαι ἑωπῷ *indulgere equo*. From these it is not far to such a phrase as χαρίζεσθαι θεσμὸν *remittere imperium* 'to let an order be neglected', and we are scarcely entitled to reject the extension when it occurs.—μὴ χρονίζεσθαι Paley (making θεσμὸν the object of ὀτρύνει), μηχαρήσασθαι Margoliouth: μὴ χαρίζεσθαι Heath, 'not to be wanting', assumes a doubtful word. See further Wecklein, Appendix.

318—322. κατόπτην W. Headlam; κατοπτὴν Canter. The genitive is governed by the preposition.—The 'headland' should be 'the high coast on the S. side of the bay of Cenchrea' (Wecklein).—καί.. ὑπερβάλλειν, i.e. ὥστε αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπερβάλλειν, a consecutive infinitive depending on the whole previous sentence,

- πορθμοῦ κατόπτην πρῶν' ὑπερβάλλειν πρόσω  
 φλέγουσαν· εἴτ' ἔσκηψεν, εἴτ' ἀφίκετο 320  
 Ἀραχναῖον αἶπος, ἀστυγείτονας σκοπᾶς·  
 κᾶπειτ' Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τό γε σκήπτει στέγος  
 φάος τόδ' οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός.  
 τοιοῖδε τοῖ μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι  
 ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι· 325  
 νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν.  
 τέκμαρ τοιοῦτον σύμβολόν τέ σοι λέγω  
 ἀνδρὸς παραγγέλαντος ἐκ Τροίας ἐμοί.  
 ΧΟ. θεοῖς μὲν αὖθις, ὦ γύναι, προσεύξομαι·  
 λόγους δ' ἀκοῦσαι τούσδε κάποθανυμάσαι 330  
 διηνεκῶς θέλοιμ' ἄν, ὡς λέγοις, πάλιν.  
 ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῇδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

319 κάτοπτον.

323—1050. Readings of f

324. τοιοῖδ' ἔτυμαι.

and specially upon μέγαν.—φλέγουσαν feminine, not masculine, because φλογός is the really substantive word, μέγαν πώγωνα being merely descriptive and adjectival, and therefore αὐτήν, not αὐτόν, is the pronoun supplied (Paley, Sidgwick).—εἴτ' ἔσκηψεν, εἴτ' ἀφίκετο. In a sentence of symmetrical and prosaic form these clauses would be parallel with the infinitive, as thus, ὥστε πρῶνα μὲν ὑπερβάλλειν, εἰτα δὲ σκῆψαι καὶ ἀφικέσθαι κτλ. (The point made is that the courier-fire, eager to finish the long journey, 'ran in home' as it were, and would not after Aegiplantus make an unnecessary stop). But the second parallel clause is turned for variety into an independent sentence, and the effect is further strengthened by the omission of μὲν δέ, and by the rhetorical repetition of εἰτα in place of the simple copula καί.—ἔπειτα in v. 322 points back to εἰτα in v. 320, 'then. . . after then': they mark as it were the last stage and the very last.—τό γε i.e. τοῦτό γε: τό demonstrative, several times used by Aeschylus. The particle γε (literally

'to the roof of the Atreidae this at least') gives to the close the animation of poetic feeling. This time at least, after being often sent on, the far-travelled messenger had indeed arrived.—τόδε recd.—εἴτ' ἔσκηψεν, εἴτ' ἀφίκετο 'till it lighted, when it arrived' Hermann. The repetitions φλογός..φλέγουσαν, εἴτ' ἔσκηψεν... ἔπειτα σκήπτει are not negligent but calculated.

323. The light there, which shows a pedigree from the beacon upon Ida. φάος τόδε: she points to Arachnaeus, behind which, to add effect to her words, the elders might now see the beginning of day. It is the place of the beacon which helps to suggest the comparison of it, on its first appearance, to the dawn, v. 22 —οὐκ. πυρός literally 'not without an ancestor in the beacon of Ida'. The genitive depends on the privative force of the adjective —The negative turn of this jesting phrase is for the ears of the audience. As a fact, the beacon was ἀπαππον, and had no 'ancestry' at all, but it has supplied the defect, as others

so far it flamed, the headland that looks down upon the Saronic gulf, alighting then, and only then, when it reached the outlook, nigh to our city, upon the Arachnaean peak, whence next it lighted (at last!) here upon our royal roof, yon light, which shows a pedigree from the fire of Ida. Such are the torch-bearers which I have ordained, by succession one to another completing the course:—of whom the victor is he who ran first and last. Such is the evidence and token I give thee, my husband's message sped out of Troy to me.

*Eld.* My thanksgiving, lady, to heaven shall be presently paid; but first this story—I would fain satisfy my wonder by hearing it repeated, in thy way of telling, from point to point.

*Cl.* Troy is this day in the hands of the Achaeans! Me-

will do, by a little invention, *ἔφυνε πάππους* in the phrase of Aristophanes (*Birds* 765), and so is *ἀπαππον* no longer.

324 τοιοῖδε τοί μοι Schütz. τοιοῖδ' *ἱτοιμοί* α.—*λαμπαδηφόρων*. In the race called *λαμπαδηφορία* a chain of runners, posted at intervals, passed a lighted torch from the start to the goal. The chain won which accomplished this in the shortest time, provided that the torch was kept alight. (There were several forms of the race, but this is the method meant here.) The custom was specially popular at Athens—*ἄλλος πληρούμενοι*. The expression is not clear, since grammar suggests *ἄλλος νόμοι*, while sense requires *ἄλλος λαμπαδηφόρος* (F. B. *Jevons Class. Rev.* vi. 317, proposing *ἄλλον* for *ἄλλος*). But it is not incorrect, since *ἄλλος* (*λαμπαδ.*) *παρ' ἄλλον* may stand in apposition to *λαμπ. νόμοι*, and seems practically intelligible. The two genitives *ἄλλου ἄλλον*, though grammatically right, do not come well to the ear.

326. See Appendix H.

329—331. The elders are so astonished that they scarcely know what to think or say, and one of them tries to draw from the queen some 'more details' (Sidgwick) on the subject of the

beacons, putting the request delicately in the form of a compliment to her narration. Naturally he does not succeed. The thoughts of the queen are gone away to the absent ones 'in Troy'!—*θεοῖς προσεύξομαι*: this is to guard, so far as may be, against the appearance of disbelief. He will act upon the queen's testimony presently, when he has heard it again.—*αὐθις* later, afterwards.—*ἀποθαυμάσαι* to admire fully.—*διηλεκῶς*: both 'clearly' and 'continuously', without anything omitted.—*ὥς λέγοις* as you would tell it. The mood of *λέγοις* follows that of *θελοίμην* *ἂν* on the same principle which determines *ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις* (v. 264), the whole action lying in the same hypothetical time. Sidgwick compares Plato *Men.* 92 C πῶς ἂν εἰδείης περὶ τούτου οὐδ' ἀπειρος εἴης; 'how could you know that of which (*ex hypothesis*) you have no experience?'—*ὥς λέγεις* α, *εἰ λέγοις* Blomfield, *οὕς λέγεις* Bothe.

332. On the significance of this speech see the Introduction. The scene at this point, the contrasted attitudes of the two parties (see on v. 363), and the painful interest with which, for different reasons, they all mark the words and behaviour of the queen, make an effective moment.



οἶμαι βοήν ἄμικτον ἐν πόλει πρέπειν.  
 ὄξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἐκχέας ταυτῷ κύτει  
 διχοστατοῦντ' ἂν οὐ φίλως προσενέποις. 335  
 καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα  
 φθογγὰς ἀκούειν ἔστι συμφορᾶς διπλῆς.  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες  
 ἀνδρῶν κασιγνήτων τε καὶ φυταλμίων,  
 παῖδες γερόντων, οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρου 340  
 δέρης ἀποιμῶζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον.  
 τοὺς δ' αὖτε νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος  
 νῆστις πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὧν ἔχει πόλις  
 τάσσει, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον,  
 ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστος ἔσπασεν τύχης πάλον 345  
 ἐν αἰχμαλώτοις Τρωικοῖς οἰκήμασιν  
 ναίουσιν ἤδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων  
 δρόσων τ' ἀπαλλαγέντες ὥς δυσδαίμονες.  
 ✓ ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.

333. ἄμικτον *that will not blend*

334—336 ὄξος τε . καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων: either τε and καὶ here answer to each other ('as...so'), or τε...τε. The first is preferable.

334. ἐκχέας ταυτῷ κύτει *shouldst thou pour out oil and vinegar with the same vessel, i.e. put them into the same vase or bottle and pour them from it together. The dative is instrumental.*—It is not clear that this should be changed (Canter and others) to ἰχχέας. The repulsion of the two ingredients would be more conspicuous in the pouring out of a mixture (as upon a plate) than in the pouring in.

335. *Thou wouldst exclaim at their unfriendly parting, literally 'wouldst accost them as (persons) parting not like friends', an expression of studied irony for a violent mutual repulsion.*—The use of προσενέπειν (*to name, apostrophize*) διχοστατοῦντε is natural in a language which used the participial apostrophe (e.g. Eur. Tro. 1168 ὦ μείζων' ὄγκον δорὸς ἐχούρες

ἢ φρενῶν).—The expression διχοστατεῖν οὐ φίλως suggests perhaps that διχοστατεῖν φίλως would have a meaning. In Theb. 918 (where see note) we have the term διατομαὶ φίλαι (and οὐ φίλαι) for a partition, friendly or unfriendly, between joint occupiers of land. Possibly a similar metaphor lies behind the language here, and διχοστατεῖν φίλως meant a 'friendly dissolution', as of partnership or marriage. —οὐ φίλῳ (Auratus and others)

336. τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων: not here exactly equivalent to τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ τῶν κρατησάντων. The comparison is between the *conjunction* of oil and vinegar (which will not blend) and the *ensemble* of victors and vanquished.—δίχα with ἀκούειν: 'distinctly', 'separately'.

338. οἱ μὲν: the living captives would be chiefly or solely (particularly in the case of Troy) women and girls; but the generic description of them as the vanquished party (οἱ ἀλόντες) is nevertheless naturally not feminine.

339. *Husbands, brothers, fathers and*



thinks there must be sound there of voices that will not blend. Pour with the same vessel vinegar and oil, and thou wilt exclaim at their unfriendly parting. Even so their tones, the conqueror and the conquered, fall different as their fortunes upon the ear. These on the ground clasping the dead, their husbands, brothers, fathers, sons, young children weeping for gray sires, themselves enslaved, are wailing for their beloved. Those the hungry weariness of fighting and a restless night hath set to break their fast upon what is in the town, not billeted orderly, but lodging themselves forthwith, by such chance as falls to each eager hand, in the captured houses of Troy, to escape as they may the miseries of the open air, the frosts and the dews. With no watch to keep they will sleep the whole night long.

*sons.* The gender of ἀνὴρ is to be extended throughout. φυταλμίων is here a substantive. The word means properly 'connected with geniture'; so in Soph. *O. C.* 150 ἀλαῶν ὀμμάτων ἄρα καὶ ἦσθα φυτάλμιος; *wast thou sightless even from divinity?* Here it means 'relations by geniture' (i.e. parents, children, etc.). So κασιγνήτων is properly 'collaterals', brothers, cousins, etc.

340. παῖδες γερόντων *children bewailing aged*; not that *all* the captives were children, or *all* the slain aged. The phrase signalizes the most pathetic figures, among the captives the orphan children, among the slain those whose years might have saved them, but did not, from the indiscriminate massacre—Another punctuation joins φυταλμίων παῖδες γερόντων (or φυτάλμιοι παῖδων γέροντες Weil). A better correction is that of Karsten παῖδων γερόντων *both young and old*, i.e. of all ages.

341. δέρης, both *neck* and *throat* (Eur. *Or.* 41 οὔτε σῖτα διὰ δέρη ἐδέξατο Wecklein), here combines the two meanings. With οὐκέρ' ἐλευθέρον it is *neck*, the metaphor being that of the yoke, with ἀποιμώζουσι *throat*. No English word will exactly fit.—ἀποιμώζουσι: not *bewail loudly* (L and Sc.), but *bewail away*, i.e. 'bewail desperately, as lost'. Cf. Antiphon 134. 15 ἀπώμωξεν ἐμὲ τε καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀπολλυμένους, and Aeschyl.

*fr.* 128 Ἀντίλοχ' ἀπολιμώξον με τοῦ τεθνηκότος τὸν ζῶντα μᾶλλον.

343. νήστις *hungry* τοῖς, i.e. 'making hungry'.—νήστεις (many texts) is strongly favoured by the grouping of the words. But it is clear that Aeschylus would have used the form νήσταις and not rather νήστιδας or νήστιας?—ὧν ἔχει πόλις. The besiegers are starving (see v. 132), and the long-beleaguered city offers but little.

344. *Not in order according to billet.* The casual banquet of the famished plunderers, establishing themselves in the first house where they find food, is contrasted with the orderliness of a well-appointed army distributed to quarters by 'token' or 'billet'.

345—347. *Rather by such chance as falls to each eager hand they are installing themselves forthwith in the captured houses of Troy.* ὡς ἕκαστος . πόλιον literally 'as each has snatched a lot' i.e. according to the fortune of each plunderer.—αἰχμαλώτοις: the epithet, like ὧν ἔχει πόλις, denotes the misery of the comforts to which the victors fly. The houses are such as they would be when carried after a desperate night of fire and sword. It will be remembered that in the time of Aeschylus the private buildings of the Greeks, even in great cities, were poor and slight in construction.

347—349. *Glad of such poor deliverance*

εἰ δ' εὖ σέβουσι τοὺς πολισσούχους θεοὺς 350  
 τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἰδρύματα,  
 οὐ κἂν ἐλόντες αὐθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν.  
 ἔρως δὲ μή τις πρότερον ἐμπύπτη στρατῷ  
 πορθεῖν τὰ μὴ χρή κέρδεσιν νικωμένους·  
 δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστήμου σωτηρίας, 355  
 κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν.  
 θεοὺς δ' ἀναμπλάκτητος εἰ μόλοι στρατός,  
 ἐγρήγορον† τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων.  
 γένοιντ' ἄν, εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι, κακά.  
 τοιαῦτά τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἑμοῦ κλύοις 360

350. εὐσεβοῖσι.

352. οὐκ ἂν γ'. αὐθις.

354. εἰ.

from the frosts and dews of the open air. With no watch to keep they will sleep the whole night long. ἀπαλλαγίντες ὡς δυσδαίμονες, literally 'ridding themselves as poor wretches may', where ὡς has the same qualifying sense as in ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος Λακεδαιμόνιος 'a good man for a Lacedaemonian' and the like.—τῶν ὑπαιθρίων neuter, gen. of τὰ ὑπαίθρια, to which πάγων ὁρώων τε stands in apposition, 'the conditions of the open air, frost and dew'; cf. τῶν ποικίλων v. 917: the article is therefore necessary.—ἀφύλακτον . . . εὐφρόνῃ 'a night being watchless, they will sleep it all'. ἀφύλακτον is a predicate and equivalent to ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν. This explains further the meaning of ὡς δυσδαίμονες: after the exposure of the camp and the weariness of the watch the soldiers are not nice enough to disdain the wrecked houses. The mere security will give them an unbroken night.—δυνες πρότερον δηλονότι δυστυχεῖς νῦν ἀμερίμνως εὐδῆσουσι (schol. on v. 348) assumes the punctuation ἀπαλλαγίντες, ὡς εὐφρόνῃ which is that of the MSS., but apparently lacks a conjunction.—ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες Stanley, gives the same sense in another way.—ἀπαλαχθέντες α, perhaps rightly.

350. εὐ σέβουσι Scaliger and Porson, εὐσιβοῖσι MSS. The first accentuation is the safer, as the evidence for the transitive

εὐσεβεῖν is not conclusive.—εἰ σέβουσι, not ἢν σέβωσι. The English if they observe, standing for both, easily misleads. The captors are doing as they should, or otherwise, while Clytemnestra speaks (according to her pretended assumption).

352. οὐ κἂν. The emphasizing καί, if correct, belongs to ἐλόντες (even after conquest), 'they will escape a ruinous ending of their victory after all'.—οὐ τῶν Hermann.—οὐκ ἀνελόντες α, οὐκ ἂν γ' ἐλόντες f h (a correction)—ἀνθαλοῖεν Auratus. ἀνθάνοιεν α.

353. ἔρως μὴ τις ἐμπύπτη the desire, it is to be feared, may come upon them. On μὴ with the present subjunctive, as a principal sentence, expressing an anticipation or suspicion about the future, see on Theop. 183.—An imperative sense is not admissible with this tense.—The sin of the victors in this respect (v. 531) is doubly connected with the sequel, it was punished by the disaster of the fleet, and it led to the capture of Cassandra, who was torn from sanctuary.

354. τὰ μὴ χρή α, ἀ μὴ χρή f For the relative τὰ cf. v. 531 Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πῆδον. The substitution of the familiar εἰ is of no significance.

355. The genitive σωτηρίας and the infinitive κάμψαι both depend upon δεῖ, the infinitive clause translating the literal

Now must they pay due respect to the gods that inhabit the town, the gods of the conquered land, or their victory may end in their own destruction after all. Too soon belike for their safety, the soldiery, seized with greed, may yield to their covetousness and lay hands on forbidden spoil. They have still to bring themselves home, have still the backward arm of the double course to make. And if no sin against heaven rest on the returning host, there is the wrong of the dead that watches. Evil may find accomplishment, although it fall not at once.

But for all these my womanish words, may the good prevail,

σωτηρίας πρὸς δαίμονας into a popular metaphor from the *draulos* or double race-course.—κάμψαι κῶλον: as we might say 'to make the second half of your round' or 'lap'. κάμψαι is transitive.

357—358. 'And if the army return without offence against the gods, the wrong of the dead is on the watch'. There is an antithesis between the words placed first and last. The primary meaning is this: the ruin of Troy and the slaughter of her population naturally cry for vengeance and expose the victors, according to the doctrine of Nemesis, to especial danger at this time. They have therefore little need to increase this danger, which is already 'watching its opportunity', by plundering the sanctuaries and thus incurring the avoidable anger of the gods. For the queen herself, who proposes to avenge her daughter, and for the conspirators, infuriated by the sacrifice of lives in the war, 'the wrong of the dead' has another meaning.—The apodosis to *ἐλ μάλαι*, 'they may suffer the vengeance of the dead', is not expressly stated in the following clause but implied.—ἐγρήγορον. The misformed adjective ἐγρήγορος (whence the late verb ἐγρηγορέω) can scarcely be as old as Aeschylus. Either ἐγρηγορός (Porson) or ἐγρήγορεν should probably be read; if the first, we still supply *ἔστι*—For the metaphor cf. Eur. *El.* 41 *εὐδοντ' ἂν ἐξήγειρε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος φόνον* (Paley), for the use of πῆμα Soph. *El.* 258 *πατρῶα πῆματα* 'my father's wrongs'.

359. *Evil may find accomplishment, if it fall not at once*, i. e. 'postponed is not prevented', 'the victors will be in danger for some time yet'—*γένοιτ' ἂν* 'may be accomplished', cf. *v.* 264 *ἔπει γένοιτο* 'when it is accomplished',—*πρόσπαια* 'sudden, off-hand', a secondary predicate.—In this and the preceding clause *ἐλ* is concessive and equivalent to the more exact *καὶ ἐλ* of common use (see *Kühner Greek Grammar* § 578, note 2).

For further discussion of *vv.* 357—359 see Appendix I.

360—361. Conscious of the thoughts covered by this pretence of solicitude for the absent, she breaks off and dismisses it with a light self-reproach. It will prove, she trusts, no more than the nervousness of a woman.—*κλύσεις κλύεις* a (as in *v.* 331 *λέγεις* for *λέγους*), to get a construction simpler in appearance. But the optative is right. The mistake arises from stopping off *v.* 360 as a separate sentence. It is related as a concessive clause to *v.* 361 and would in common parlance require *μέν*, thus: *ταῦτα μὲν κλύεις τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίῃ*, i. e. literally 'I pray that thou mayst hear such words and yet the good triumph', or in English form 'I pray that, though thou hearest such words, the good may triumph'. The propriety of the optative may be made more clear, according to English conceptions, by paraphrasing the second clause; *οὕτω τὰ τοιαῦτα κλύεις ὥστε κρατεῖν τὸ εὖ*. A precise parallel is *αἰδωνον εἰπεῖ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικᾷτω* (*Anglice*

τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίη μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν.  
 πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν τὴν ὄνησιν εἰλόμην.  
 ΧΟ. β'. γύναι, κατ' ἄνδρα σῶφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια  
 θεοὺς προσειπεῖν εὖ παρασκευάζομαι. 365  
 χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἵργασται πόνων.

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ καὶ νύξ φίλία,  
 μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρά,  
 ἥτ' ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες  
 στεγανὸν δίκτυον, ὥς μήτε μέγαν 370  
 μήτ' οὖν νεαρῶν τιν' ὑπερτελέσαι  
 μέγα δουλείας  
 γάγγαμον ἄτης παναλώτου.  
 Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι  
 τὸν τάδε πράξαντ' ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ 375  
 τείνοντα πάλαι τόξον, ὅπως ἂν  
 μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήτ' ὑπὲρ ἄστρον  
 βέλος ἡλίθιον σκῆψειεν.

ΧΟ. Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσ' ἀνειπεῖν. στρ. α'.

379. ἔχουσιν (corr. to ἔχουσ') εἰπεῖν.

'though the dirge must be uttered, let the good win')

362. *For this choice gives me the enjoyment of more blessings than one* 'Den Genuss von vielen Guten erwähle ich mir damit' (Wecklein, reading τῆνδε). The construction is εἰλόμην τὴν (i.e. ταύτην τὴν ὄνησιν) ὄνησιν (οὖσαν) πολλῶν ἐσθλῶν. The demonstrative follows the gender of the predicate ὄνησιν. Ostensibly this phrase means no more than that τὸ εὖ covers everything desirable: to Clytaemnestra it means that more senses than one can be put upon τὸ εὖ.—εἰλόμην. the aorist refers to the moment before, and to the preceding wish.—τῆνδ' Hermann, but the archaic demonstrative is defensible.—Another possible rendering is 'I prefer that my enjoyment should be

an enjoyment of many blessings (not few)', i.e. 'of what is good one would have as much as may be'. The remark will then refer specially to μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν. The victory is a sure ἐσθλόν if all turns out well, so much the better. Yet other renderings may be suggested; but the first interpretation is prevalent and seems the best.

363. ΧΟΡΟΣ β'. On the question who are the speakers here, and how the following scene is to be concerned, see Appendix J.

365. προσειπεῖν εὖ to praise.

366. *For there hath been wrought* (by the gods) *a return in full for our pains.* οὐκ ἄτιμος 'not inadequate' (Paley), literally 'not without the value' of the trouble spent.—πόνων depends directly



plainly, I say, and undoubtfully; for choosing so, I choose more blessings than one.

*A Conspirator.* Lady, no man could speak more kindly wisdom than thou. For my part, after the sure proof heard from thee, my purpose is now to give our thanks to the gods, who have wrought a return in full for all the pains.

[*Exit Clytaemnestra.*

*Conspirators.* Hail, sovereign Zeus, hail, gracious night; high is the glory thou hast won, thou night, that hast cast over the towers of Troy meshes so close, that none full-grown, nay, nor any young could pass the wide enslaving net, one capture taking them all. Zeus, god of host and guest, I confess him great, who hath wrought this vengeance, with aim upon the ravisher taken long, that so neither heaven-high the bolt might idly go, nor short of the mark might fall.

*Elders.* Zeus' stroke it is which they dare proclaim. This

upon χάρις, though relative in sense to ἀγριμος

367—378. Clytaemnestra retires. During this anapaestic march, sung by the sub-chorus, the principal chorus of elders are moving into their position for the following hymn.—νύξ φίλα. All this passage takes a poignant irony from the fact that it is really Argos and the elders, not Troy and her people, who are enslaved by the work of this 'gracious night'.

370 στεγανόν. ὥς i.e. ὥστε, so close that etc.—μέγαν full-grown.

371. μήτ' οὖν 'nor if it comes to that': this is the full force of the expression, but we have no English equivalent that is not cumbersome.—μήτ' οὖν τινα Here the irony of the situation turns against the singers. The conspiracy which enthrones Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus is the work of the younger generation (νεαροί, see the Introduction). Their own language here might remind them that tyrants are seldom grateful, and that those who set up cannot always pull down

373. αἵτης παναλότου genitive 'of equivalent' or 'of quality' depending upon the whole phrase μέγα δ. γάγγαμον (not

in apposition to δουλείας).

374 μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι: the adj. is a predicate, 'I bow before his greatness'.

375. ἐπ' Ἀλιεάνδρῳ with τείνοντα (with πράξαντα ed. i, but wrongly). On the name see *vv.* 60, 714.

376 ὅπως ἂν σκήψαιεν: practically here final, and not distinguishable from ὅπως σκήψαιεν. For the history of these constructions (in which, however, many points are open to dispute) see Kuhn *Greek Grammar* §§ 552—553.

377. πρὸ καιροῦ before (i.e. short of) the mark: cf. *v.* 778. ὑπὲρ ἄστρον hyperbole for 'too high'.—This is the usual interpretation of πρὸ καιροῦ Mr Sidgwick prefers 'before the time', which is an equally possible sense of the word and gives, divested of metaphor, the real meaning. But ὑπὲρ ἄστρον seems scarcely intelligible without the assisting contrast of πρὸ καιροῦ in the local and metaphorical sense

378 ἡλίθιον predicate, to be taken with the verb.

379. It is a stroke of ZEUS which they are able to proclaim. This thought it is permissible to follow out. The elders themselves οὐκ ἔχουσι (are not able) to join



πάρεστι τοῦτ' ἐξιχνεύσαι. 380  
 ἐπραξεν ὡς ἔκρανεν. οὐκ ἔφα τις  
 θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιούσθαι μέλειν  
 ὅσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις  
 πατοῖθ'· ὁ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβής.  
 πέφανται δ' ἐγγονοῦ- 385  
 σα τόλμη τῶν Ἄρη  
 πνεόντων μείζον ἢ δικαίως,  
 φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφεν  
 ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔστω δ', ἀπή-  
 μαντον ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν 390  
 εὖ πρᾶπιδων λαχόντα.  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπαλξίς  
 πλούτου πρὸς κόρον ἀνδρὶ  
 λακτίσαντι μέγαν Δίκας  
 βωμὸν εἰς ἀφάνειαν. 395

381. ὡς ἐπραξεν ὡς.

385—6 ἐγγόνουσ ἀτολήτων.

394. μεγάλα.

in the celebration, inasmuch as they are more than doubtful of the fact to be celebrated. But there is an opportunity (πάρεστι), they say, to pursue the suggested truth, that Zeus does watch and does punish: and thus accordingly they do, in general terms and without reference to the supposed capture of Troy. This dubious and somewhat feeble distinction is prompted by their peculiar and embarrassing situation. They cannot accept Clytemnestra's proof, yet will not commit themselves to a denial. Naturally they soon quit the subject altogether.—ἀνεπιέν. see ἀναγορεύω, a word proper to proclamation of a victory.

380. On the metre see Appendix II.

381. *He* (i.e. Zeus) *accomplishes as he determines*—The convenient aorist, according as it is taken as *past definite* or as *gnomic*, does or does not imply a specific reference to the present case. In English the ambiguity can scarcely be preserved.—ἐπραξαν (Hermann)—The omission of

ὡς (Hermann) is not strictly necessary, the elision ἐξιχνεύσ', ὡς (*that*) is not inadmissible in lyrics. But the insertion may well have arisen from the want of punctuation after ἐξιχνεύσαι.

381. *τις quidam*. It is probable that the poet has some passage of literature in view; and see v. 1578, where it appears that Aegisthus had entertained, and presumably expressed, an unfavourable opinion of Providence.

383. ἀθίκτων χάρις *the charm or spell of the inviolable*, i.e. the restraining 'power' which religion ought to exercise. For χάρις, in this sense of influence (upon the mind), cf. Eur. *Med* 439 βέβαιε δ' ὅρκων χάρις and note there.

385. πέφανται ἐγγονοῦσα literally 'is proved to have been pregnant' or 'to have been carrying offspring', by giving birth to it. When the consequence of sin comes, men see to what it was leading. The metaphor is fully worked out in vv. 749—773 of the play, which are the

thought we may pursue. As He determines, so He accomplishes. It was said by one that the gods deign not to regard sinners, when they trample upon the grace of sacredness. But impiously was it said. It is manifested, how pregnant is the insolence of a too defiant pride, when the fulness of the house grossly exceedeth the best. Which best shall be so much, as will let a man blest with sense live of it undistressed.

For there is no defence for that man, who in the pride of wealth doth spurn the mighty fixed foundation of Right, whereby he may be unseen: though strong is that obstinate

best commentary upon the present passage, παλαίφατος γέρων λόγος. μέγαν τελεσθέντα φωτὸς δλβον τεκνούσθαι ἐκ δ' ἀγαθῆς τύχης γένει βλαστάνειν ἀκρέστον αἰδῶν κτλ.; see notes there. Here the familiar train of thought is merely touched by a passing allusion.—As to the division of the words here I follow Hartung (ἐκτινύουσα τόλμα τῶν), but keep the letters of the MS. ἐγγονούσα, which the MS. offers, is clear both in form and meaning. The verb is formed like ἐνεργεῖν, and means 'to be ἐγγονος'. Ἐγγονος is capable of two senses, either 'in-bearing, containing offspring' (a synonym of ἐντοκος), or 'in-born, being contained as offspring'. The second sense occurs in Aristotle (see Lex. s v); from the first is derived ἐγγονούσα τόλμη irregular for τόλμᾶ, which perhaps should be read; but there may have been good literary reason for the Ionic form here.—πέφανται δ' ἐκγόνοις ἀτολήτως Bothe.—πέφανται δ' ἐκγονοὶ 'even the descendants of the wicked perish' (root φερ-) S. J. Warren, *Class. Rev.* II. 182.

389—391. Which shall be, so much as will permit a man of sense to meet his needs without distress. The subject of ἔστω ('let it be, let us put it at this') is τὸ βελτιστον 'the standard' of wealth, which this sentence defines by the limiting clause ὥστε κτλ.: literally and let this be, 'so that a man may' etc.—ἀπτήμαντον: masc. and passive, not vexed. Also rendered 'harmless' and construed, as neuter, with ἔστω, the subject being, less

naturally, supposed to be 'wealth'.—ἀπαρκεῖν literally 'to suffice from it': for the preposition cf ἀπορῆν (ὅσον ἀπορῆν enough to live upon Thuc. I. 2), ἀφορμὴ a fund or capital, etc. For the personal use of ἀρκῶ 'I am sufficient (to myself)', there appears to be no other example. Even P. V. 648 τοσοῦτον ἀρκῶ σοι σαφηνίσαι μόνον 'I can only inform you as far as this' (cited by S.) is materially different. But it is natural and justifies itself.—πραπίδων: cf the genitive with ἔχειν πως, as ὡς εἶχε ποδῶν 'with his best speed' (S.).—λαχόντι Auratus.

392—395. For there is no defence for the man, who in the pride of wealth doth haughtily spurn the foundation of Right, whereby he may be hid. πλούτου may be taken either as above or with ἐπαλξίς ('there is no protection in riches' etc. Sidgwick: 'What defence are riches' etc. Kennedy)—μεγάλα (?), cf. Theb. 339 ολοῖθ' δι πῶλει μεγάλ' ἐπεύχεται. But μέγαν (Canter) is probably right. See Appendix II.—βωμόν foundation, pedestal (not altar); the notion of fixity, solidity (cf βέβαιος), is here more prominent than that of sanctity.—ἐς ἀφάνειαν: difficult. The explanations given are (1), as the majority, λακτίσαντι ἐς ἀφάνειαν 'spurning out of sight', or 'into destruction'. The objection to this is that the metaphor thus becomes grotesque and inconsistent with the notion of a βωμός, which the wicked may spurn, but could not spurn away. (2) As Hermann and others, ἐπαλξίς ἐς ἀφάνειαν 'protection

βιάται δ' ἅ τάλαινα πειθώ, ἀντ. α'.  
 προβουλόπαις ἄφερτος ἄτας.  
 ἄκος δὲ παμμάταιον. οὐκ ἐκρύφθη,  
 πρέπει δέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος.  
 κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον 400  
 τρίβῳ καὶ προσβολαῖς  
 μελαμπαγῆς πέλει  
 δικαιοθεῖς (ἐπεὶ  
 διώκει πᾶσι πτανὸν ὄρνιν)  
 πόλει πρόστριμμ' ἄφερτον †θεῖς. 405  
 λιτᾶν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν,  
 τὸν δ' ἐπίστροφον τῶνδε  
 φῶτ' ἄδικον καθαιρεῖ.  
 οἶος καὶ Πάρις ἐλθὼν  
 ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀτρειδᾶν 410  
 ἥσυχνε ξενίαν τράπε-  
 ζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός.

401. προβολαῖς.

410. τῶν.

against destruction'. But *ἀφανής* means not *destroyed*, but *invisible*, *secret*, *concealed*, and 'eis is the wrong preposition' (S.). (3) *ἐπαλξίς* *eis* *ἀφάνειαν* 'protection for concealment', whence the translation above. *eis* for the purpose of. —*ἀφάνειαν*. See the sequel οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, *πρέπει δὲ* κτλ., v. 398. This connexion may explain why the words are separated from *ἐπαλξίς* and placed at the end of the sentence; they strike the keynote of the passage following.

396. *Yet irresistible is that obstinate persuasion*, the self-persuasion, that is, of the wicked, that his wealth will in some way protect him. *πειθῶ* means both persuasion to believe (*conviction*), as here, cf. Eur. *Hel.* 796 τίς τοῖδε πειθῶ; and persuasion to do (*temptation*). The second sense may be taken here ('Temptation forces him on' S.), but the other makes a better connexion. The strength of temptation is not here | the question.

*τάλαινα* *obstinate*; see v. 233, Eur. *Med.* 1037 *ἴασον αὐτοῦς, ὦ τάλαν, φέισαι τέκνων* (Medea appeals to her heart).

397. *προβουλόπαις... ἄτας*: another difficult expression. The old interpretation was 'fore-counselling child of Infatuation'. To this it was objected (Hartung, Karsten) that the law of composition does not admit such a substantive in the supposed sense, an objection not answered by producing exceptional *adjectives* such as *αἰνότηρις* (Πάρις), *ἀνθρωπότηρ* etc. The compound substantive *προβουλόπαις* ought to mean 'a *παῖς* who is a *πρόβουλος*' or 'who belongs to the class *πρόβουλοι*', where *πρόβουλος* is not adjective but substantive. *πρόβουλος* meant in Greek politics 'one who prepares measures for the sanction of another'. In this sense it occurs in Aeschylus himself (*Thet.* 997), and not seldom elsewhere. It is coloured with technical meaning (as is also *προβουλεύω*), and describes not a

persuasion, servant of Blindness and shaper of her decree. Remedy is all vain. Unhidden the mischief glows with a baleful light. Like base metal beneath the rub and touch, he shows the black grain when brought to justice (for his pursuit is idle as the boy's who follows the flying bird), and leaves upon his people a fatal mark of the touching. Deaf to supplication, the gods condemn for wicked whosoever is conversant with such.

Such was the sin of Paris, who came to that house of the Atridae and dishonoured the hospitable board by theft of the

quality but a *function*, a *relative function*. A πρόβουλος is πρόβουλος to another or others. These facts suggest that in this compound παῖς also is a term of *function*, and means not *child* but *servant* or *hand-maiden*, and that we should translate by *servant of Infatuation who prepareth her decrees*, literally 'the counsellor-servant of Atē'. Self-deception, to drop the metaphor, prepares the way for judicial blindness. Such metaphors from occupations and functions are in the style of the poet; see his προχαλκεύει Ἀτὴ φασγανουρῆς, his πρόσπολος Φόνου, his προβατογνώμων, and the like.—προβούλου παῖς. ἄταρ Hartung, πρόβουλος παῖς Karsten: see Appendix II.—ἄφερτος 'tyrannous', lit. 'insupportable'.

398—408. *Remedy is all in vain.... Like base metal at the rub and touch he shows the black grain under justification and sets upon his people a fatal mark of his touch. Deaf to supplication, the gods condemn for a wicked man him who is conversant with such.* The general meaning is that, as wealth will not serve, so neither will power, such as the power of a mighty state, to avert the punishment of the wicked. He will only ruin those who adopt his guilt.—ἐπελ. ὄρνιν is a parenthesis, and the metaphor of the rubbed metal is pursued after it as before it. πρόστριμμα, lit. 'that which is rubbed on to' a thing, being correlative to τρίβος.—It is additionally recommended by the use of προστρίβειν to inflict a punishment (Aesch. P. V. 345 Paley).—δικαιωθεὶς when justified, i.e. 'brought to justice' or 'to punishment'. (?)

This (see L. and Sc.) is the meaning which δικαίω seems to have, where it is used with a personal object. It suits with the words τρίβω πέλει, but not well with πέλει πρόστριμμα θεῖς, which, however, need not be closely connected with it.—The rendering 'tested' is not supported, so far as I can discover, by any example or analogy.—πέλει, i.e. πολιταίς, see Theb. 57, 1021 etc.—ἄφερτον θεῖς. This metre though not impossible (see Appendix II) is harsh. Perhaps the order should be changed to πρόστριμμα θεῖς ἄφερτον. The Cod. Farn. has a conjecture, ἀφερτον ἐνθεῖς, but ἐν- is not good: ἀνθεῖς (from ἀναριθεῖναι) put upon is possible; but the correct preposition is already given by πρόσ-τριμμα and no compound would be quite satisfactory except προσθεῖς.—ἐπελ. ὄρνιν for his pursuit is that of the boy after the flying bird; the hope of the malefactor and his friends that they may escape punishment is futile.—προσβολαῖς Pearson.—τῶνδε better taken not as neuter but as masculine, as in the Homeric phrase ἐπιστροφος ἦν ἀνθρώπων (Od. 1. 177). The plural includes the whole company of the wicked with the original malefactor.—ἄδικον predicate with καθαίρει, which probably has its judicial sense, 'to condemn' or 'sentence' (not 'to destroy' though this is indirectly implied), as in ἡ καθαιρούσα ψῆφος (Lysias) etc.—Dr. Headlam suggests, but with hesitation, that τῶν (for τῶνδε, see v. 390) may anticipate ἀδικῶν, 'those, the wicked' more Homeric.—On the metrical points see Appendix II.

λιπούσα δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίστορας στρ. β'.  
 κλόνους λογχίμους τε καὶ ναυβάτας ὅπλισμούς,  
 ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλίῳ φθορὰν 415  
 βέβακε ρίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν,  
 ἄτλητα τλᾶσα· πολὺ δ' ἀνέστενον  
 τόδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήται·  
 "ἰὼ ἰὼ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι,  
 ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλόνορες. 420  
 πάρεστι σιγᾶς ἄτιμος ἀλοῖδορος  
 ἀδιστος ἀφεμένων ἰδεῖν.  
 πόθῳ δ' ὑπερποντίας  
 φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.  
 εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν 425  
 ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί,  
 ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις  
 ἔρρει πᾶς Ἀφροδίτῃ.  
 ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πειθήμονες ἀντ. β'  
 πάρεισι δόξαι φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν. 430  
 μάταν γὰρ εὖτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν ὀρᾶν...

419.. ἰὼ and δῶμα not repeated.

429. πειθήμονες.

413. ἀσπίστορας κλόνους λογχίμους *τε* the dim of shield and spear, καὶ ναυβάτας ὅπλισμούς and the arming of fleets. *τε* couples the adjectives ἀσπίστορας and λογχίμους, καὶ couples ναυβάτας ὅπλισμούς to the whole phrase preceding. See Appendix II

415—422. See Appendix K.

416. βέβακε. The vowel is lengthened by the following ρ

417. πολὺ δ' ἀνέστενον: for metre see Appendix II.

423. πόθῳ.. ἀνάσσειν *so* *pinning* for *her* *that is far beyond sea, the lord of the house may pass for a mere phantom*: 'den Herrscher des Hauses wird man nicht für einen machtvollen Herrscher, sondern für ein Schattenbild halten' (Wecklein). The tone, as in the preceding sentence,

is still mocking. — I am sorry to abandon for this interpretation the old and familiar one 'in his longing for the lost wife a phantom of her will seem to rule his home'. But this, however poetical, is not in the Greek. It is not naturally conceivable that the subject of δόξει should be other than ὁ ποθῶν. It will no doubt seem to many, as to me, that Dr Wecklein's rendering destroys what they most admire in the passage. And yet it may be indisputably right

427. ὀμμάτων ἐν ἀχηνίαις *in the want of the eyes*. The question is raised whether the 'eyes' are those of the husband, or of the lost wife, or of the blankly-gazing statues, a question which cannot and must not be answered. The eyes of the husband seek, but no longer



wife. Leaving to her countrymen the din of shield and spear and the arming of fleets, and bringing to Ilium ruin for her dower, she had passed with light step, careless of sin, through the gates. And oft they sighed, the interpreters of the home, as they said, 'Ah for the home! aha, for the home! Aha, and ah, for the princes thereof, for the husband's bed yet printed with her embrace. We can see him there, his curses mocked with silence, the parted spouse, the sweetest sight of them all! He shall pine for her that is far beyond sea, the lord of the house, till he seems but a phantom lord. Grace of beautiful idols the husband hateth: in the want of the eyes all the passion is gone. Dream-forms stay with him a while, convincing semblances, and offer delight in vain; for lo, when seeing his joy he vainly would embrace, the vision escapes through his arms,

find, the eyes that were wont to answer, and, for lack of this response, love is for him no more. It is the advantage of the language here that it is ambiguous between 'absence of eyes' and 'hunger of eyes'.—Prof. Bury (*Class. Rev.* II. 182) points out that to a Greek ear *κολοσσός* (*κόλος, ὄσσει*) would suggest *eyeless*, and supposes the exceptional word to be chosen for this reason. This, for Aeschylus, is quite possible and would even be characteristic.

429 *πειθήμονες*. . δόξαι *persuading visions* or 'convincing', *i.e.* visions which compel belief in their reality, cf. Propertius 4. 11. 81 (a departed wife is addressing her husband) 'sat tibi sint noctes, quas de me, Paule, fatiges | *somniaque in faciem credita saepe meam*; | atque ubi secreto nostra ad simulacra loqueris | ut responsurae singula verba iace', Meleager *Anth. Gr.* 5. 166 ἄρα μένει στοργῆς ἐμὰ λείψανα καὶ τὸ φίλημα | μνημόσυνον ψυχρὰ θάλλει· ἐν εἰκασίῃ; | ἄρδ γ' ἔχει σύγκοιτα τὰ δάκρυα, κἀμὸν βνείρον | ψυχὰ πᾶτην στέρνοισι ἀμφιβαλοῦσα φιλεῖ; (Housman, *Journal of Philology* xvi. 269).—*πενθήμονες* MS. 'mournful'. The alternative interpretations of this, (1) *sad-looking*, (2) *causing sadness*, are both unsatisfactory. (1) is pointless, and

(2) is contrary to fact and the context. It cannot be said of the visions that *πενθήμονες* *πάρεσι*: on the contrary *φέρουσι χάριν*, though *ματαιὰν*—There is perhaps a third possible interpretation, *visions of mourning*, *i.e.* visions which arise before the disturbed mind of the mourner. We might cite Propertius for this also: the ghost of Cynthia appears to her lover 'cum mihi somnus ab exsequiis penderet' (4. 7. 5). This explanation I should take, if *πενθήμονες* be retained.

431. "For vainly, when, dreaming that he beholds his joy (*he would embrace her*), the vision slips through his hands and is gone'. The construction, which has given much trouble, is an ellipse, the verb being suppressed *εὐφημίας ἔνεκα*"; Dr Headlam (*Class. Rev.* XII. 246), citing Theocr. i. 103 οὐ λέγεται τὴν Κύπριν ὁ βουκόλος—, Simon. Amorg. 7. 110 κεχηρότος γὰρ ἀνδρὸς—οἱ δὲ γελῶνες χαίρουσ' ὀρῶντες, and many passages from the lighter literature. Since this accounts not only for the defective grammar, but also for the vagueness of ἐσθλά ("the Attic ἀγαθὰ" Headlam), the evidence in favour of it is very strong indeed. But it is then imperative to suppose that this whole passage, vv. 419—434, is satirical

παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν  
 βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύστερον  
 πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις."  
 τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἐφ' ἐστίας ἄχῃ, 435  
 τὰ δ' ἔστι, καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα.  
 τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος αἴας συνορμένοις  
 πένθει ἀτλησικάρδιος  
 δόμων ἐκάστου πρόπει.  
 πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἡπαρ· 440  
 οὓς μὲν γὰρ παρέπεμψεν  
 οἶδεν, ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν  
 τεύχῃ καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἐκά-  
 στου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.  
 ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἄρης σωμάτων στρ. γ'. 445  
 καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορὸς

436. τὰδ' ἐστὶ.

438. πένθει ατλησικάρδιος.

441. γὰρ ἐπεμψεν.

or semi-satirical in tone, and is to be assigned to speakers who could use such a tone, which however is probable on other grounds; see Appendix K. All Dr Headlam's examples (except Soph. *O. T.* 1288, a peculiar case) are from comedy or the like, and indeed such an aposiopesis is plainly incompatible with pure pathos or perfect dignity. Nothing like it appears to occur in Attic tragedy elsewhere.—εἶτ' ἂν ἐς θιγάς δοκᾶν ὄρε, when he looks to touch the phantom, Housman, citing Eur. frag. 162 ἄνδρὸς δ' ὄρωντος ἐς Κύπριν νεανίου ἀφόλακτος ἢ τήρησις. The form *θιγή* is assumed, legitimately, from *θιγέω*.

434. *With wings that follow the passing of sleep* The dative *κελεύθοις*, depending on *ὀπαδοῖς* (cf. *ἔπομαι*), may be right, though perplexing to the ear. *ὀπαδός* (*Auratus*) is the simplest change. the adjectival *ὀπαδός* might well in Aeschylus take *πτεροῖς* as an instrumental dative.—*πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῦσ(α)* Dobree.—*κελεύθοις*, commonly *δοδοῖς*, cf. *v.* 131.

435. ἐφ' ἐστίας ἐφ' ἐστίοις (Voss)

This merely expresses the same sense in a more ordinary way. But a poet is at liberty to prefer an unusual way, and we may even think that the cumulation of *ἐφ' ἐστίας* (the more intimate expression) upon *κατ' οἴκους* has a poetical effect.

436. τὰ δ' (Halm).—*ἔστι* should be accented as emphatic. It marks the true present time of *v.* 436, as opposed to the 'historic' time of *v.* 435. The connexion of thought is this: 'Such are the sufferings at home (*κατ' οἴκους*) of those (*ἐφ' ἐστίας*) most nearly concerned (the Atreidae, particularly Menelaus); and other sufferings they have *now*, even greater (the miseries of war being added to the first loss); and throughout Hellas, since they (the princes and their army) went away, there is sorrow'. Both *v.* 436 and *v.* 437 are separately antithetic in different ways to *v.* 435.—If *τὰδ' ἐστὶ* be written, so that the antithesis is merely between *τὰ μὲν* and *τὸ πᾶν δέ*, there is an ill-marked transition of time from the past to the present.—*τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα* *more surpassing than these*, an unusual (active)

and is gone that instant, on wings that follow the passing of sleep'.

Such the home-sorrow before they parted hence; and other woes they have, woes surpassing yet beyond these. And in every home of those who set forth together from Hellas' land the hearts of their women-folk ache, as ache they must, with all they have to wound them. Whom they sped forth, them they know, but it is not the man they know that comes to his home; it is but an urn and ashes. A merchant in gold is Ares, and bodies of men are his gold: in battle he holdeth his scale. He

sense of ὑπέρβατος, and a redundant, or rather inaccurate, use of the comparative formation, where 'surpassing these' would be logical.

437. τὸ πᾶν δὲ generally, *universally*, i.e. 'in reference to the commons', as opposed to τὰ ἐφ' ἑστίας, the domestic concerns of the princes. Cf. τὸ πολὺ, τὸ πλεῖστον, etc.—συνορμένους 'since they (the princes and their army) went away together'. For this 'dative absolute', as it may almost be called, see on *Theb.* 217 and hereafter on v. 1277.—Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλανος Bamberger for metre, perhaps rightly, but see Appendix II.

438—440. πένθεια. Formerly translated *grief*, *mourning*. But πένθεια, as from an adjective πενήθης, would be a word of irregular formation. Adjectives in -ης are properly formed from words such as πένθος, πενθεῖν by composition, e.g. δυσπενθέης. So τέλος, τελεῖν, ἐντελής, but not τέλεια *perfection*. Nor is the genitive δδμων well constructed.—Translate: *there is and must be heart-ache for the women of every house*, literally, 'the kinswoman of each man's house is heavy at heart of course'. See Appendix L. ἀτλησικάρδιος *bravehearted* (Headlam) is preferable to τηλεσικάρδιος *enduring*.—πρέπαι is *naturally*. This is the force here rather than 'is conspicuously'. The use of the verb is akin to its common impersonal use (πρέπει *it is fit*), and may be approximately illustrated by *Pers.* 242 πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς ἀλχμὴ διὰ χερῶν αὐτοῖς πρέπει; 'Is the bow the weapon

natural to their hands?' and *Soph. O. T.* 9 πρέπων πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν, 'marked as their natural spokesman'. It is this πρέπει to which γοῦν in v. 440 refers: 'she is sad *naturally*, for indeed she has much to grieve her'.

440. θυγγάνει (αὐτῆς) πρὸς ἦπαρ *wounds her to the heart*.

441. παρέπεμψεν (Bothe) *those whom she sped on*, sent away with cheer and encouragement. The preposition, bearing the same shade of meaning as in παρακελεύειν, adds to the irony of the contrast. The loss is accounted for by the similarity of ἑπεμψεν —τις ἑπεμψεν Porson (and many texts); but this has less graphic probability. It has been recommended by the necessity of supplying a subject to ἑπεμψεν, which is already supplied under the foregoing interpretation.—See further Appendix II.

442. "Notice the beautiful effect in this pathetic line of the implied antithesis to οἶδεν; instead of the familiar and loved face comes back the unknown urn and ashes" (Sidgwick).

445. "The 'dust in the urn' suggests a bold figure to the poet. 'War is a gold-merchant dealing in bodies; he has his balance (holding the scales of fight, a Homeric idea from *Il.* 8. 69, where Zeus weighs fates); he sends back ψῆγμα *dust*, πυρωθέν and βαρὺ *burnt and heavy* (*grievous*), like gold-dust, but in another sense; he fills the jar with ashes in place of men'" (Sidgwick)

πυρωθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου  
 φίλοισι πέμπει βαρὺ  
 ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον, ἀν-  
 τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί- 450  
 ζων λέβητας εὐθέτου.  
 στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄν-  
 δρα τὸν μὲν ὡς μάχης ἴδρις,  
 τὸν δ' ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ'—  
 ἀλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναικός· 455  
 τάδε σίγά τις βαῦζει,  
 φθονερὸν δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἔρπει  
 προδίκουσιν Ἀτρεΐδαις.  
 οἱ δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τείχος  
 θήκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς 460  
 εὖμορφοι κατέχουσιν· ἔχ-  
 θρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυπεν.  
 βαρεῖα δ' ἀστῶν φάτις σὺν κότῳ†. ἀντ. γ.  
 ✓ δημοκράτου δ' ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος.

450. γεμίζων (?).

455. διαί.

451. εὐθέτου literally 'convenient'; the old translation 'easily stowed' is not far from the implied sense, but a little more than the meaning of the word. The general notion is 'convenience', as comes out clearly in εὐθετεῖν *to be convenient, handy* (εὐθετεῖ πᾶσι χρῆσασθαι Theophrastus), and specially the convenience which comes of being in small compass. So in Hesiod (*Theog.* 541) Prometheus, binding the bones of an ox in fat to deceive Zeus, first packs them together, εὐθετίας κατέθηκε καλύψας ἀργέτι δημῷ. So in Aesch. *frag.* 238 shoes for running are termed εὐθετοὶ ἀρβύλαι from their 'convenient' lightness and other adaptation. (The word appears, as a conjecture of one of the later copyists, in *Theb.* 629, but see note there.) Here it is an epithet borrowed from the merchant's gold-dust, whose *convenience* of small bulk, ready

exchange etc., is a chief part of its value. To the ashes it is applicable only in bitter irony, because, as compared with the living man, they are so small in bulk and so quickly disposed of—εὐθέτου (Auratus) is a mistaken change. The 'convenience' of the goldsmith's vessels (*i.e.* the urns of the dead) is not to the point, still less that they are 'well-ordered' (as the word is sometimes rendered).

455. διαί Hermann

456. τάδε, *i.e.* the last words ἀλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναικός, not of course the praises of the dead. Wecklein marks the natural pause.—βαῦζει *snarls*; the word signifies the tones of the dog.—τις *some one*; this differs from βαδίζουσι and is more picturesque. When the praises of the dead are sounded, some one (an emissary for example of the conspirators) will generally put in the malicious suggestion.—σίγα *iii*



sends from Ilium dust out of his fire, a heavy gold to weeping love, powder that once was a man, now pressed into the compass of a jar.

And they lament them, telling their praises, how skilled was the dead in battle, or how bravely he shed his blood—'And all through another's wife', snarls some one in a whisper: and so there spreads a resentful anger against the quarrel of the sons of Atreus.

Others there by the town, in their own shapes, possess graves in Trojan earth, which hating them doth hide its fair possessors away.

Now when one anger moves a people, there is danger in their talk; it is a bond no less than a covenant sworn.

a whisper. In this and the like passages (see L. and Sc. 5 v.) the word retains the effect of its origin and its connexion with σίλω (stem σῑγ-) to hiss.

457. φθονερὸν . . . 'Ατρείδαις there spreads an indignant grief against the sons of Atreus as foremost in the quarrel. ὑπὸ ἔρπει εὐφέρπει. This intransitive use is to be distinguished from that in v. 281 χαρὰ μ' ὑφέρπει. For ἔρπειν to grow see on *Theb.* 17.—προδίκουσιν: cf. ἀντίδικος in v. 41. The δίκη is the cause of the Atridae against Troy. But the exact sense of πρόδικος is hard to fix, from the rarity of the word and of similar words. It seems here to be invidious; a laudatory or neutral epithet would cumber the sentence. As πρόμαχος is forward in battle, πρόχειρος handy, πρόκωπος ready with the sword, and πρόλεσχος too ready with talk, so πρόδικος may be forward or too ready in suit, in short litigious, and this would fit well, the point being that the princes are too eager in urging their private interest.—Or it may be 'as the chief persons in the quarrel' (als die Führer des Rachezugs, Wecklein). This has practically the same effect.

460. Others possess graves there by the town in Trojan earth, which hating them doth hide its fair possessors away. The Greek feeling for the beauty of the body

is here touched with a strange pathos εὐμορφοί, though joined with κατέχουσιν, takes force from its antithesis to ἔκρυψεν. —There is irony in κατέχουσιν.. ἔχοντας, words used naturally of conquerors who occupy land (Sidgwick) —ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔχθοντας Orelli.

463. βαρεία dangerous —Read συγκότων when united in anger, possessed by a common feeling of indignation. The compound εὐγkοτος is similar to συμπαθής united in feeling, συναίματος united in blood, σύνορκος bound by a joint oath, and σύμφρων one in mind (v. 112). It answers to ἀλλόκοτος (properly differing in humour) as συμφρονεῖν answers to ἀλλοφρονεῖν. For the union with a preposition we have ὑπέρκoτος and ἐπικoτος. The point is that when there is among the people a common indignation (not indignation simply), a conspiracy, or something like it, grows up naturally out of daily intercourse and conversation (φάρις). —With σύν κότῳ the meaning must be the same (see next verse), but it is not well expressed.

464: it performs the obligation of a sworn conspiracy: the subject is φάρις, the talk by which malcontents are drawn together.—δημοκράτου ἀρὰς a popular conjuration, a curse by which the people bind themselves together; see vv. 1234, 1396. The metaphor κρᾶσις mixture, ap-



μένει δ' ἀκοῦσαί τί μου 465  
 μέριμνα νυκτηρεφές.  
 τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἀπόσκοποι θεοί. κελαι-  
 ναὶ δ' Ἑρινύες χρόνῳ  
 τυχηρὸν ὄντ' ἄνευ δίκας 470  
 παλιντυχῇ τριβᾷ βίου  
 τιθείσ' ἀμαυρόν, ἐν δ' αἰ-  
 στοῖς τελέθοντος οὔτις ἀλκά·  
 τὸ δ' ὑπερκόπως κλύειν εὖ  
 βαρὺ· βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσοις 475  
 Διόθεν κεραυνός.

## 474. ὑπερκότως

plied to a league, covenant, or bond, is foreign to modern language but consecrated and characteristic in Greek, and it is specially applicable to a conjuration or religious bond. It was in fact more than a metaphor; it was an actual symbol; see the ritual of Atlantis as described in Plato (*Critias* p. 119). The ten kings annually renewed their compact with each other and with the law by first shedding the blood of a bull over a pillar, on which was written, together with the laws, 'an oath invoking great curses on whoever should break them (*ὄρκος μεγάλας ἀρὰς ἐπευχόμενος τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι*)', and then *mixing drops of the bull's blood, one for each of them, in a bowl from which they drank, swearing as they did so to deal truly with each other according to the law* (κρατήρα κερδάντες ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου θρόμβον ἐνέβαλλον αἵματος κτλ.). Hence in Herodotus (4. 152) the beginning of a commercial league is expressed by the dedication of a κρατήρ, and we are told that *Θηραίοισι ἐς Σαυλοῦς ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φίλαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν*. So in the *Seven against Thebes* (43) the forlorn hope of the besiegers bind themselves together till death by putting their hands while they

swear into blood poured in a shield, which serves for the occasion the function of a κρατήρ. See also the oaths of Priam and Agamemnon *Il.* 3. 269 and notes there. From this ritual and symbolism came many familiar terms of compact, such as *συγκεράσασθαι φίλιαν, συγκεράσθαι τινα* (to be united with another), *συμμίξαι συμβόλαια* etc. Hence *δημόκρατος* ἀρά properly describes a 'conjuration' of the people, a covenant of rebellion solemnized with imprecation; and the point here is that the bond of a common indignation irregularly communicated from mouth to mouth may be as dangerous to authority as a sworn conspiracy. It will be observed that what the speakers fear is not the unimaginable thing which happens, but a popular outbreak against the representatives of the king.—*τίνει χρεός* 'it performs (literally 'pays') the obligation'. The *φάτις* is said itself to do that which it causes to be done. The metaphor pursues the idea of a covenant suggested by *δημοκράτου*.—*δημοκράντου* (Porson) gives the sense 'a curse decreed by the people.' The public curses upon offenders were an important part of early Greek legislation and were regularly registered with the laws (see a

And I am expecting in trouble to hear of some secret of the dark.

For whosoever are guilty of lives, upon them God's eyes are fixed. The time comes when fortune unmerited turns to misfortune at a touch, when the dark Chastisers take the man's strength away: and once he is gone, no help for him. Glory too high is dangerous; it is upon the peaks that the bolt of

specimen from Teos in Roberts' *Greek Inscriptions* No. 142). *δημόκραντος ἀρά* is therefore a very good expression in itself; but no change is required.

465. *μένει νυκτιπρεφής*: apparently intended, notwithstanding the order, to be construed as *μέριμνά μου μένει ἀκούσαι τι*, 'my anxiety expects news.'—The order suggests that *μου* depends on *ἀκούσαι*, and in ed. 1 I adopted this, with the rendering *and I await with boding a voice from the darkness of my thoughts* (literally 'and anxiety waits to hear from me something, which darkness covers'), but I now think this too difficult

467. *οὐκ ἀδόσκοποι* 'they do not look away from them,' i.e. they watch them with fixed eyes—*ἀδοκοποι* Cod. Farn., but see Appendix II.—*πάν πολυκτόνων*: including those who, like the Atridae, reckon lives lightly in the pursuit of their ends.

471. *παλιντυχή.. βίου* *when in the course of life his luck is reversed*, but the metaphor in *τριβή* is uncertain.—*παλιντυχή?* (Scaliger) does not alter the sense.

473. *τέλειθοντος* 'when he is finally': cf. Eur. *Andr* 780 *ἀδὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτίκα τοῦτο, ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ τελέθει ξηρόν*, and see on Eur. *Med*. 1096.

474. *ὑπερκόπως* (Grotius) *κλέειν εὖ το* *be praised too much*.

475. *βαρύ* *dangerous*, see v 463—*δοσσοῖς*. a difficult word, as appears from the thirteen proposed corrections cited by Wecklein. The order and rhythm indicate that the dative depends upon *βάλλεται*. With *βάλλειν*, as with many verbs, simple cases sometimes express in poetry relations usually and in prose more accurately given by prepositions. Thus here *βάλλεται* is used like *ἐπιβάλλεται*,

and the dative stands for the object of aim. Cf. Eur. *Phoen*. 1385 *λόγχην ἐνώμα στόματι*, Eur. *Med*. 1285 *χέρα βαλεῖν* (i.e. *προσβαλεῖν*) *τέκποις* and note there. So *πρέπειν* (*Theb*. 117) takes the genitive proper to *διαπρέπειν*. On the other hand that 'the bolt of Zeus strikes the eyes' is neither true as a fact nor significant as a figure. To make sense, we want some type of greatness or height, the *peaks* for instance, which 'the thunder strikes', as Horace says illustrating the same topic. Hence the suggestions '*Ὅσσα* (Loheek), *δρεσσιν* and *δχθοῖς* (Weil), *ὀρόγχοις* *peaks* (Ahrens), *κρόσσοις* *pinnacles* (Schneidewin) etc. But how do we know that *δοσσοῖς* itself does not mean *peaks*? Not because it means 'eyes': every language has many words of double and treble signification. Not by its form, for the very word *δοσε*, *eyes*, is evidence for the likelihood of a word *δοσος* (or *δοσον*) *point*, being derived from the stem *δκ-*, of which the original notion was *sharpness* (cf. *δκρως* a *point* and the cognate Latin *ac-us ac-us*). The fact that *acies* means *point* or *edge*, does not prevent it from meaning also *sight*, *line of battle*, etc. In such cases of ambiguity, one meaning tends to oust the rest; and so it appears to have been in this case, if the present *δοσσοῖς* is the only extant example of the meaning *points* or *peaks*. The meanings discarded from common use will nevertheless be preserved here and there. I would therefore retain *δοσσοῖς* and translate, after Horace, *for the bolts of heaven fall upon the peaks*, 'feriuntque summos fulgura montes.'—*κάρανα* Tucker, *Class Rev* VII. 340

κρίνω δ' ἄφθονον ὄλβον.  
 μὴ δ' εἶην πτολιπόρθης  
 μήτ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἀλοὺς ὑπ' ἄλ-  
 λων βίον κατίδοιμι.

480

πυρὸς δ' ὑπ' εὐαγγέλου  
 πόλιν διήκει θοὰ  
 βάξιν· εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως,  
 τίς οἶδεν; ἦ τοι θεῖόν ἐστι, μὴ ψύθος.  
 Τίς ᾧδε παιδὺς ἦ φρενῶν κεκομμένος,  
 φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν  
 νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν ἔπειτ'  
 ἀλλαγᾷ λόγου καμειν;  
 Ἐν γυναικὸς αἰχμᾷ πρέπει  
 πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι.

485

490

484. <sup>εἰ</sup> ἦ ἐστίν.

477. κρίνω: properly 'separate' or 'sift out', and so *prefer, choose*.—ἄφθονον *unenvied*: not as commonly 'unstinted, abundant'.

478. μὴ δ' εἶην need not be altered to μήτ' εἶην. The connexion is this: 'I choose an unenvied prosperity; and (δέ) I would fain not (μή) be a conqueror, nor yet (μήτ' οὖν)' etc.

480. μήτ'...κατίδοιμι: 'nor may I ever know the life of a captive' (?) is said to be the meaning; literally, 'nor may I, myself subdued, see my life subject to another'—βίον κατέδοιμι, 'eat the bread (βίος sustenance, nourishment) of captivity', Valckenaer; but neither is this satisfactory.

481—493. Conversation in lyric recitative between the elders (Wecklein). See above on *vv.* 363—366.

481—493. The alleged 'message of the beacon' must be spreading, though it is quite uncertified and probably false.

483. ἐτητύμως supply ἀγγελλουτος διήκει κτλ., ἀγγελλουτος being supplied

from εὐ-αγγέλου. The antithesis is between the adverbs εὖ and ἐτητύμως: the signal gives good news, but does it give *true*?—ἐτήτυμοι (ἐστίν ἡ βάξι) Auratus.

484. ἦ τοι θεῖόν ἐστι, μὴ ψύθος (sc. ὅν) *it is indeed miraculous,—if not false*. An expression of contemptuous disbelief. The subject of the sentence in Greek, as in the English, is the general subject, τὸ πρᾶγμα 'the thing'. The force of θεῖος is illustrated by Herodotus (2. 66) on the behaviour of the Egyptian cats, which leap into a fire, πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γενομένης θεῖα πρᾶγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελοῦρους. The supplement of the verbal ὅν from ἐστι in the principal clause is similar to that of the adjectival ὅν in such cases as Plato *Phaedr.* 240 D ὁρῶντι ὅψιν προσβυτέρων καὶ οὐκ ἐν ᾧρα (ὁδοῖαν). It is irregular but seems not impossible. See *v.* 547.—Of the many changes proposed, that of O. Müller, ἦ τοι θεῖόν ἐστιν ἡ ψύθος, is the nearest to the ms. and gives the same sense as the text. Many (e.g. μὴ τι θεῖόν ἐστι δὴ ψύθος; Weil) introduce

heaven strikes. Nay, let my happiness challenge no jealousy: and let me be no conqueror, nor see myself a conquered slave.

*First Elder.* The beacon hath spoken fair, and the report is spreading swiftly among the folk; but hath it spoken true? Who knows? It is indeed miraculous,—if not false.

*Second Elder.* How can one be so childish, so crazed of wit, to fire with hope at a sudden message of flame, and risk the pain of altered news?

*Third Elder.* With woman's impulse it is natural to give indulgent credit before the proof.

the suggestion that the signal is a 'deception of the gods' (θεῶν ψέθος). But if the speaker suspects any one, it is the queen: see the next lines.

485—488. τίς ὧδε παιδνός κτλ. 'Who is so childish' etc. *i.e.* 'Is there any one so childish?' This second speaker takes up the hint of the preceding and gives it a stronger turn. The rashness of the queen, in acting upon such an uncertified report, is more than natural. Does she really believe? To which the next speaker answers that it is possible in a woman.

487. νέοις, *i.e.* νέοις ὄσσω 'when they are fresh'. Why not await confirmation? —πυρῶντα: for heat as a figure of sanguine rashness cf. Soph. *Ant.* 87 θερμὴν ἐπὶ ψυχροῖσι καρδίαν ἔχεις.—πυρῶντα. Ἰππεῖτα καμῖν *i.e.* 'to let his feelings take fire at the first, when he must suffer if the news should change'. For the relation of sense between the participle and the verb, cf. Eur. *Med.* 1412 οὐκ μήποτ' ἐγὼ φύσας ὅφελον πρὸς σοὺ φθιμένοισι ἐκιδέσθαι whom *I would I had never begotten, to see them slain by thee.*—The clause is consecutive (ὥστε καμῖν) following ὧδε.

489. ἐν...αἰχμῇ πρέτω 'with woman's impulsiveness it is natural' etc., literally 'in (a case of) a woman's impulse', *i.e.* where a woman's impulsiveness comes in. In Latin the corresponding use of *in* is common; in Greek it is rare, but see Antiphon 5. 59 σὺ δέ με ἐν ἀφανεί λόγῳ

(when you have no proof) ζητεῖς ἀπολέσαι. —To omit ἐν (Scaliger) is simple, but unsafe.

489. αἰχμῇ impulse or natural temper, regularly formed from the stem of ἀΐσσω. For the sense compare θυμός spirit with θύω to rush. Other words of like formation and meaning are ῥώμη, ῥώμη. The word occurs also in *P. V.* 418 Ζεὺς ὑπερφάνων ἐνδείκυσιν αἰχμῇ, and *Cho.* 628 γυναῖκελιν ἀτολμον αἰχμῇ (Blomfield, Paley, and see L. and Sc. s. v.). Here the primitive notion of impulse is more prominent; the same variation occurs in ὀργή, meaning sometimes anger sometimes merely mood.

490. χάριν ξυναιέναι to give indulgent assent, an assent which is not merited but conceded from the inclination of the hearer. The acc. χάριν is related to ξυναιέναι as an adverbial or 'quasi-cognate' accusative, and expresses that the 'assent' is a 'favour' or act of partiality.—πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος before proof, where τὸ φανέν 'the thing being proved' stands for 'the proving of the thing'. This use of the participle, though logical, is very rare, having been expelled by the article with the infinitive (πρὸ τοῦ φανέναι). Similar (if correct) is Thucydides 1. 142 ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι δειντεώτεροι ἔσονται 'from not practising they will have less knowledge'.—Others translate by 'instead of what is evident', but the context indicates that πρὸ here is temporal.



Πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος ἐπινέμεται  
 ταχύπορος· ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον  
 γυναικογήρυτον ὄλλνται κλέος.  
 Τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων  
 φρυκτωριῶν τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγὰς, 495  
 εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἴτ' ὄνειράτων δίκην  
 τερπνὸν τόδ' ἔλθον φῶς ἐφῆλ'ωσεν φρένας·  
 κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὄρῳ κατάσκιον  
 κλάδοις ἐλαίας. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις  
 πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε, 500  
 ὥς οὔτ' ἀναυδος οὔτε σοι δαίῳν φλόγα  
 ὕλης ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός,  
 ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λέγων—  
 τὸν ἀντίον δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀποστέργω† λόγον·  
 εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φανείσι προσθήκη πέλοι. 505

491. ἐπινέμεται, lit. 'is occupied-over, is encroached upon', an irregular ancient passive: cf. ἐπικηρυχθεῖς 'having a price set upon him' in *Thēō* 621, and examples there cited. The application of ἐπινέμεσθαι to flocks which feed (νέμονται) on a neighbour's land illustrates the use (Donaldson, Paley); but the metaphor is taken directly from νέμειν or νέμεσθαι to occupy land.—ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος i.e. τὸ θῆλυ (woman) regarded as a ὄρος.—γυναικογήρυτον. γηρύω, generally used of sounds sharp and shrill, here suggests the female tone

494. The herald is seen approaching.

494—5. λαμπάδων... φρυκτωριῶν . πυρός. The accumulation of synonyms has a certain contemptuous effect. 'We shall not depend on that sort of intelligence any more'.

496. εἴτ' οὖν 'whether, as we will suppose'.

498. κατάσκιον κλάδοις ἐλαίας 'with shade of olive-branch', i.e. with small branches of olive bound as a wreath upon his head. Cf. Eur. *Hipp* 130 λεπτά φάρη ξανθὰν κεφαλὰν σκιάζειν, and Simon 150

σκιάζειν θειραν of a chaplet. The speaker does not infer from the wreath the nature of the news (as the priest in *Soph. O. T.* 82 infers the success of Creon's mission to the oracle from his wreath of bay). What is inferred is that he comes ἀπ' ἀκτῆς. The herald is wreathed, as the ship itself was wreathed, in sign of gratitude to the gods for the safe conclusion of a voyage. See Propertius (3. 24. 15) ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae, | traiecitae Syrtis, ancora iacta nihil est. A similar description (κλάδοις νεοδρόμοις κατάσκιον δμλον) is given of the newly arrived refugees in the *Suppliants* (358), the scene of which is laid on the coast of Argolis.

498—504. *The thirsty dust, sister of the mire and neighbour, testifies to me this, that... he will either explicitly bid us rejoice or—etc.—What dust is meant, and how does it show that the herald brings some important news which will presumably throw light upon the recent report? The answers may be divided thus: (1) the dust is that which the herald raises; this shows his haste and therefore the im-*



*Fourth Elder.* She is too ready of belief, a boundary quickly passed and encroached upon; but quick to pass away is the rumour that women cry.

*First Elder.* 'Twill not be long ere we know of this line of torch-bearers, this beacon-chain of succeeding fires, whether they be true, or whether this gladdening light, a dream-like visitor, hath beguiled the sense. Yon herald comes from the shore, I see, with his shade of olive branch. And the information of the thirsty Dust, sister and neighbour to the Mire, assures me of this, that with something more than dumb signals of fire-smoke, more than a bonfire of wood burnt you upon a hill, he with a plain word will either explicitly bid us rejoice, or else—but the other word, for the sake of these, shall remain unspoken. May the fair appearance receive a like addition!

portance of his news; *sister and neighbour of mire* is a poetical description of dust in general. (2) the dust and the mud are upon the garments of the herald (the mud being on his shoes and the dust on his clothes they are 'neighbours' or 'contiguous'); they show that he has come a long way and so suggest that he has come from Troy (Paley). But neither is acceptable. As to (1), even supposing that one man running would make a noticeable dust, and that the herald is running, it would still be strange to cite the dust as evidence of the visible fact that he runs. Nor does this explanation account for the description 'sister of the mire and neighbour'. Paley's explanation (2) attempts this, but not successfully. See further Appendix M.

501. σοι. "The ethic dative emphasizes the tone of contempt for the reports of a beacon" (Wecklein). It has in fact precisely the same effect as in English.

502. καπνῷ contemptuous; cf. Eur. *Hipp* 946 γραμμάτων καπνὸς learned fustilities

503. *Either his happy greeting will confirm the gladness*, literally 'he will fully express the announcement that we are to be glad by saying it'. τὸ χαίρειν: 'the χαῖρε', the formula of salutation

The herald's first act, according to custom (see *v.* 801), will be to salute the town. If his salutation is a χαῖρε, as it is (*v.* 513), well; if not,—. See the same thought differently turned in *Soph. Trach.* 225 χαίρειν δὲ τὸν κήρυκα προυνέπω χρόνῳ | πολλῷ φανέντα, χαρτὸν εἰ τι καὶ φέρεis. For the ἀντίος λόγος see the entrance of the Persian messenger announcing the battle of Salamis (*Pers.* 252), ὦ γῆς ἀπάσης Δοιάδος πολισματα, ... ὦμοι κακὸν κτλ.

504. ἀποστέρῳ *dislike*, i.e. shrink from. But the word is weak, and reasonably doubted ἀποστύγῳ, Karsten. Perhaps ἀποστέρῳ i.e. ἀποσιωπῶ, 'I suppress, I leave unsaid', by an *aprosiopesis*. στέγειν properly *to hold in* (of a net, a vessel etc.) is a poetic equivalent for σιγᾶν or σιωπᾶν *τι to refrain from saying*. See *Soph. Phil.* 136 τί χρὴ στέγειν, ἢ τί λέγειν; *what should be said or suppressed?*, *O. T.* 341 ἥξει γὰρ αὐτὰ κἄν ἐγὼ σιγῇ στέγω *even if I refrain from uttering them*, and other examples in *L.* and *Sc. s.v.*—τὸν ἀντίον λόγον: the alternative of disappointment—τοῖσδε either (1) with ἀντίον, 'the opposite of this', which however makes the word superfluous; or (2) with ἀποστέρῳ (if that be read), 'out of respect for these' i.e. τοῖς θεοῖς, the

ΧΟ. Β'. ὅστις τάδ' ἄλλως τῇδ' ἐπεύχεται πόλει,  
αὐτὸς φρενῶν καρποῖτο τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

## ΚΗΡΤΞ.

ἰὼ πατρῶν οὐδας Ἀργείας χθονός,  
δεκάτῳ σε φέγγει τῷδ' ἀφικόμην ἔτους,  
πολλῶν ῥαγιστῶν ἐλπίδων μιᾶς τυχῶν. 510  
οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἡὔχουν τῇδ' ἐν Ἀργείᾳ χθονὶ  
θανῶν μεθέξειν φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος.  
νῦν χαῖρε μὲν χθών, χαῖρε δ' ἡλίου φάος,  
ὑπατός τε χώρας Ζεὺς ὁ Πύθιος τ' ἄναξ,  
τόξοις ἰάπτων μηκέτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς βέλη. 515  
ἄλις παρὰ Σκάμανδρον ἦλθ' ἀνάρσιος·  
νῦν δ' αὖτε σωτήρ ἴσθι καὶ παιώνιος,  
ἄναξ Ἀπολλων. τοὺς τ' ἀγωνίους θεοὺς  
πάντας προσσaudῶ, τὸν τ' ἐμὸν τιμάορον  
Ἑρμῆν, φίλον κήρυκα, κηρύκων σέβας, 520

517. παγώνιος.

gods who stand before the palace and to whom the herald addresses himself below (vv. 514, 524). The pronoun is explained by a gesture. For the 'ethic' dative see *σιωπῶ* in *Ar. Ran.* 1134 *ἐγὼ σιωπῶ τῷδε*; 'am I to pay him the respect of silence?' and id *Lys* 530. To abstain from words of ill omen was a duty in a religious place or presence (see e.g. *Theb.* 234).

506—7. ὅστις. *Whoso utterst his prayer with other intentions toward Argos (than ours), etc.* These lines should be given (as in the MS and by Wecklein) to a new speaker. They have most point if assigned to one of the queen's partizans (see on v. 363), accepting the prayer of the elder but tacitly putting his own sense upon it —The MS. gives vv. 494—505 to Clytaemnestra, vv. 506—7 to the chorus, and this is defended by Mr Prickard (*Class. Rev.* XIV. 434).

508 The herald enters, so utterly overcome by past suffering and present

emotion that it is some time before he thinks to tell his news (v. 530), and indeed till he is addressed (v. 543) he scarcely seems to be aware that any one is present. From his first words (*οὐδας*) it would seem that he throws himself down, like Shakespeare's Richard II., to salute the beloved earth, and he thinks for the moment that he will die on the spot (*μιᾶς τυχῶν* v. 510). The whole speech is marvellously powerful.

509. *δεκάτῳ φέγγει τῷδ' ἔτους* with *this tenth annual dawn*, if the expression may pass. *φέγγος ἔτους* is an imitation of the common phrase *φέγγος ἡμέρας*. See the Introduction p. xl. The present 'light' is the dawn of the year as well as of the day. It is important here and throughout this scene to remember the supposed hour, just after sunrise.

510. *ῥαγιστῶν*: the metaphor intended is doubtful. A schol. refers it to anchors, one of which may hold when the rest break. Others (see L. and Sc. s.v.

*A Conspirator.* If there be any that agrees not in this patriot prayer, let him reap himself the consequence of his mistake.

[Enter a Herald.]

*The Herald.* O native earth, O Argos, my country, hail! With the dawn of this tenth year I am come to thee, at last. Many a hope hath broken, but one I have grasped; for I never thought I should die here, in this land of Argos, and have my plot in her well-beloved soil. But now I bless the land, I bless the bright sun, blessed be our Zeus supreme, and blessed he, the lord of Pytho; may he shoot his shafts not upon us any more. Long enough he came in enmity to Scamander's plain. But now be Saviour, O king Apollo, and Healer again! And the gods assembled here, I salute them all, him too, mine own protector, Hermes the Herald, whom heralds love and

ἀγγυμυ) render it by *wrecked*, as a ship, but in the passage cited for this (Demosth. p. 1289) ῥαγγῆναι does not mean 'to be wrecked', but 'to spring a leak'. Probably the tradition of the scholia is correct.—τυχών belongs in any case not to the metaphor but properly to ἐλπίδος.

514. ὑπατός τε Ζεύς· supply χαίρετω. The images of these and other deities are before the palace

515. βῆλῃ· τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν, prayer of Chryses to Apollo in *Il.* i. 42.

516. ἄλλῃς ..ἦλθῃ long enough he came in enmity to Scamander's plain, as for instance on the occasion just mentioned, βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμπιοι καρήνων χwürμενος κῆρ, τὸξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων .δ' δ' ἦε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς. The descents of the gods upon the scene are a striking feature of Homeric story.—The deflexion into the third person, prepared by the nominatives in *v.* 514, is natural when referring to one not actually present, and has the advantage of sharpening the contrast between the hostile Apollo in the Troad and the friendly Apollo in Argos, the Apollo of the past and the Apollo of the present, by the return to the form of invocation in the next line, where the resumption is marked by a fresh vocative

(ἄναξ "Ἀπολλων) inserted for the purpose.—The change of ἦλθ' to ἦσθ' is undesirable.

517. παώνιος Dobrec.

518. τοὺς ἀγωνίους θεοὺς these assembled gods or gods in assembly. This term occurs also in the *Supplices* (195 and 248) for 'gods assembled in one place, and having one common worship', κοινοβωμῶν *Supp.* 228. No other sense is there possible, since the deities are recognized as collectively ἀγώνιοι by newly arrived foreigners, who have not yet identified any of them. There, as here, the reference is to the religious custom of Argos, and among the gods, there as here, are Zeus, Apollo, and Hermes. Probably therefore the sense here is the same and a similar κοινοβωμία is represented before the palace of Agamemnon (Wecklein).—Others interpret by ἀγοραῖοι 'the gods of an agora' (ἀγών). But ἀγοραῖος was not to Aeschylus the necessary sense, for the κοινοβωμία of the *Supplices* is not in an agora but in a lonely place near the sea.

519. τὸν τε and him τόν, like τοὺς in *v.* 518, is demonstrative (not 'and my defender'). τιμάδορον 'defender' because of the religious inviolability attaching to the persons of heralds, of whose office Hermes, the divine κῆρυξ, was patron.

ἦρωσ τε τοὺς πέμπαντας, εὐμένεις πάλιν  
 στρατὸν δέχεσθαι τὸν λελειμμένον δορός.  
 ἰὼ μέλαθρα βασιλέων, φίλαι στέγαι,  
 σεμνοί τε θᾶκοι, δαίμονές τ' ἀντήλιοι  
 (ἧ που πάλαι), φαιδροῖσι τοισίδ' ὄμμασιν 525  
 δέξασθε κόσμῳ βασιλέα πολλῷ χρόνῳ.  
 ἦκει γὰρ ἡμῖν, φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων  
 καὶ τοῖσδ' ἅπασιν κοινόν, Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ.  
 ἀλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει,  
 Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου 530  
 Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον,  
 βωμοὶ δ' αἰστοὶ καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα  
 καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός.  
 τοιόνδε Τροίᾳ περιβαλὼν ζευκτήριον  
 ἄναξ Ἀτρεΐδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ 535  
 ἦκει, τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιώτατος βροτῶν

534. τοιούδε

524. θᾶκοι: seats for the king and probably for his councillors before the gate of the palace. Wecklein refers to Hom. *Od.* 2. 14, 3. 406.—δαίμονές τ' ἀντήλιοι κτλ. and ye deities that look eastward (ah, what a while!). with this bright gladness in your eyes welcome fitly the long-absent king. ἀντήλιοι: 'eastward-looking', as in Soph. *Al.* 803 αὖ μὲν ἐσπερούς ἀγκῶνας αἱ δ' ἀντηλίους ἤπειτε.—ἧ που πάλαι: literally 'surely methinks a long while', a parenthetic comment upon ἀντήλιοι, from which the same adjective in a participial sense, *quasi* ἀντήλιοι ὄντες, is to be supplied. It must be remembered that in Greek πάλαι *elmi* represents the English 'I have long been'; in English it would be more natural though not absolutely necessary to repeat the verb in the perfect, 'ye that look eastward—and ah! how long ye have looked'.—φαιδροῖσι *bright* both literally and in the derived sense of

'glad'; a predicate—τοισίδ' ὄμμασιν 'these eyes' ἵε 'your eyes as I now see them'—κόσμῳ, dative of manner, combines the ideas of what is due and decent (cf. *κοσμίως* and see Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 82 τὰ μὲν ὦν (πῆματᾱ) οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμῳ φέρειν) and of honour.—The herald has come up from the port by the eastern road, and the king is coming from the same direction. The palace and the gods before it look towards the approach, and at this moment the faces of the statues are full-lit by the level morning rays. They beam (so thinks the man) with joy for the sun-like return of the king (*v.* 527), as if, *through the night of his absence, they had themselves felt it long to be looking seawards and Troywards in vain expectation*—*el που πάλαι if ever ye did before* (Auratus). For other suggestions see Wecklein's Appendix. The text should not be suspected.

527—528 For our prince is returned,



revere, and all the deified, them who sent forth the host, I bid them now receive it, so much as the spear hath spared. Hail royal palace, mansion beloved, and solemn seats, and deities eastward looking (and oh, how long ye have looked!); with this bright gladness in your eyes welcome fitly the king so long away. For our prince is returned, bringing light in darkness to impart unto all that are here, even Agamemnon our king.

But ye must greet him observantly, as is his due, having digged Troy out of the earth with the mattock of Zeus the Avenger, which hath broken her soil to dust. Her foundations cannot be found, or her fixed religious fanes, and all she might grow from is perishing out of the ground. So strong compulsion hath the elder son of royal Atreus put upon Troy, and happiest of mankind he comes home. None hath such claim to requital,

*bringing light in darkness to impart unto all that are here; he is come, Agamemnon the king.* ἡμῖν, a dative possessive or of the person interested (*commodi*), stands for Argos and the Argives generally, but also more particularly for the army, whom the κῆρυξ specially represents.—καὶ τοῖσδ' ἅπασιν κοινόν literally '(to be) shared with all here also'. The words are joined as a 'proleptic' predicate with φέρων. The 'light' of the victory has come to the army already; now the king is bringing it to Argos, that those at home may have their share.—ὑμῖν (*Cod. Farn.*) is an obvious conjecture and may be right, but it is not necessary.

531. κατεργασται πῖθον *her ground has been broken up*. For the intensive κατα- cf. καταλῶ *destroy*, 'loose to its atoms', κατάγνυμι *break to pieces*, καταλῶ *burn up*, etc

532. *Her foundations are undiscoverable and her fixed fabrics of religion, and the seed of her is perishing altogether out of the earth.* βωμοί in the full sense (see v. 395) including altars but not these only. We may be reminded that except the religious buildings, a Greek town or fort in the heroic age, and for the most part even till the fifth century, contained little which would not rapidly

perish of itself. See the remarks of Thucydides (i. 10) on an imaginary abandonment and decay of Sparta and of Athens, where τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη is a prose equivalent for βωμοὶ καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματα.—σπέρμα... χθονός: lit. 'and the seed of all the land is dying out of it'. σπέρμα is metaphorical, not literal. The plant is Troy itself, so destroyed that there is nothing to restore.—ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός. Note the tense. The metaphorical conception, not strictly possible but sufficient for poetry, is that of a soil so pulverised that there is left in it nothing capable of growth, and the vegetable fragments can only decay. 'Seeds' could not really be so destroyed, but an olive-yard or a vineyard could. The elaborate devastations of these, practised as a method of war, has perhaps suggested the image.—The whole of this passage is closely imitated from the account of the destruction of Athens by Xerxes (*Pers.* 811 foll.), put by the poet into the mouth of Darius. The ghost of the king continues thus, τοιγὰρ κακῶς δρᾶσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα πάσχονσι, words which lend an ominous significance to the herald's boasts in vv. 537—538.



τῶν νῦν· Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελὴς πόλιν  
 ἐξεύχεται τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον.  
 ὀφλὼν γὰρ ἀρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην  
 τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἤμαρτε καὶ πανώλεθρον 540  
 αὐτόχθον' ὃν πατρώων ἐθρυσεν δόμον.  
 διπλᾶ δ' ἔτισαν Πριαμίδαι θάμάρτια.

ΧΟ. κῆρυξ Ἀχαιῶν χαίρε τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ.

ΚΗ. χαίρω· τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ θεοῖς†.

541. αὐτόχθονον.

537—538. τῶν νῦν Πάρις γὰρ κτλ. By the destruction of Troy Agamemnon is left the most glorious of men. The ominous effect of these lines (see on v. 532) is aided by their ambiguity. The intention is that Agamemnon, having more than avenged his honour upon Troy, has now no rival in the world. But it is so worded as rather to suggest that, since Troy has paid in full, it is against her cruel devastator that the balance of sin now lies. For *τίσθαι* is an indecisive word, limited conventionally to *reward* or *honour*, but easily reverting to its proper sense of *payment*.—Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε *i.e.* οὔτε Πάρις οὔτε. Wecklein suggests οὐδέ, *i.e.* οὐ Πάρις οὐδέ, as in *Cho* 293, *Soph. Phil* 771 etc.—συντελὴς literally 'joined with him in payment' or 'liability to payment'. Troy in receiving him adopted his act and has shared his punishment. See *esp.* 405—408. The metaphor suggests a police-custom, such as is common in ancient law, by which a certain society, as a kinship or the inhabitants of a district, is held to payment in property or person for crimes of a member.

539. ἀρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς of *rapine as well as theft, i.e.* 'theft aggravated by rapine', ἀρπαγή meaning violent robbery as contrasted with κλοπή, simple stealing. The aggravation naturally increased the penalty and perhaps, under the law or custom to which Aeschylus alludes, also involved the extension of the responsi-

bility.—Wecklein notes that according to *Hom. II* 13 626 Paris carried off other plunder (κτῆματα πολλὰ) with Helen.

540. τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἤμαρτε κτλ. 'he has not only lost the *reprisal*'. τὸ ῥύσιον 'what is taken by way of reprisal', *i.e.* the stolen thing itself or an equivalent and something besides by way of satisfaction. This would be the penalty for mere theft. For this sense of ῥύσιον see *Soph. Phil.* 958 θανὼν παρέξω δαῖθ' ὀφ' ὧν ἐφερβόμεν φόνον φόνου δὲ ῥύσιον τίσω τᾶλας.—It was also specialised to 'that which is taken as a *pledge, ἐνέχυρον*', but that idea is here irrelevant.

ἰδ. καὶ πανώλεθρον. δόμον 'but hath also ruined and razed his own father's house, it and the place thereof together'. This penalty is to be understood literally and not merely in the metaphorical sense that the fine would ruin the *συντελεῖς*, the family of the criminal. For a heinous act of rapine, a barbarous custom might well prescribe not only, as a matter of course, the extinction of the robber-family, but also the actual literal destruction of their house.—We need not press the parallel to details or ask what was the ῥύσιον in the case of Troy, whether Helen herself or what else. The point is simply to palliate the sacrilegious barbarities exercised upon Troy by a precedent from private law, showing that when the crime is *aggravated*, the penalty may be (1) made very severe and (2) extended beyond the offender. The

not one in the live world. As for Paris and his people, bound with him to payment, they cannot boast a balance of damage done. Sentenced for theft and rapine too, he hath not only lost the reprisal, but also hath ruined and razed his very father's house, it and the place thereof together. Two-fold the loss the sons of Priam have paid.

*An Elder.* Joy to thee, herald of the coming Achæan host!

*Herald.* .....

custom cited is itself barbarous and antiquated, and the plea would appear to an audience of Aeschylus' day, as the purpose requires, worthless. It is in fact self-condemnatory, for the real object of the sacrilege committed at Troy was ἀρπαγή (see *vv.* 350 foll.).—αὐτόχθον' *δν* or αὐτόχθονος (?). I prefer on the whole Blomfield's reading.—*δν* 'his own' is surely not, as Hermann says, superfluous but much to the point—αὐτόχθονα: here 'even to the site on which it stood', literally 'ground and all'; cf. αὐτόπρεμος, αὐτόρριζος etc.—For αὐτόχθονος Hermann makes the subtle defence that the form αὐτόχθονος is used deliberately in order to distinguish this meaning from the common αὐτόχθων *indigenous*. But the poet saw, for instance, no such difficulty in ἀφθονος *not invidious*, *v.* 477.

541. διπλά τισαν θάμάρτια *they have paid the double of the loss*, another analogy from the law of theft, but from a more humane jurisprudence. The antichmax is noticeable and betrays the weakness of the plea.—ἔτισαν θάμάρτια: θάμάρτιον seems to occur only here and perhaps in *Pers.* 679 where both reading and interpretation are uncertain. For the rendering *loss* argues here the occurrence of ἥμαρτε *lost* just above.—Another interpretation, τὸν μισθὸν τῆς θάμαρτίας, is given by the schol., and would resemble εὐαγγέλια *re-ward for good tidings* (Sidgwick), though εὐαγγέλια is a regularly formed *secondary* adjective from εὐάγγελος, so that the analogy is imperfect.—The herald, who, it will be observed, has not addressed any one except the gods, stops abruptly

and remains absorbed in his feelings till one of the elders addresses him.

543. τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ *i.e.* τῶν στρατευομένων. The preposition is used in the pregnant manner which may be called regular in Greek: the description of the army itself is coloured by the fact that the herald comes from it.

544. This line is hopeless. οὐκέρ' ἀντερῶ (*h* and its scholia) is probably conjecture; τεθνάναι (for τεθνάναι) is a figment.—As it is hard to see a reason for θεοῖς, we may affirm perhaps (with Hermann, Weil) that part of the line was χαίρω...τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ, and that θεοῖς is merely a patch.—The modern restorations seem to assume that τεθνάναι οὐκ ἀντερῶ or οὐκέρ' ἀντερῶ could mean *I will not refuse to die*. But τεθνάναι, though for some purposes interchangeable with θανεῖν, should in this connexion give the meaning *I will not deny that I am dead*. This however is not an impossible meaning, for the point may turn on the use of χαίρε (in funerals, epitaphs etc.) as an address *to the dead*. The poets often play with the senses of this word. Thus *e.g.* χαίρω; τί χαίρω, τὸ τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ (where χαίρω is deliberative subjunctive) would mean '*Be glad!* Thou needst not say *be glad*. Though indeed the greeting of the dead suits me well enough', being thus exhausted with past misery and present joy. Both the play on χαίρε and the play on τεθνάναι may be illustrated from the farewell scene between Polyxena, going to her death, and Hecuba (*Eur. Hec.* 426 foll.): *Pol.* χαῖρ' (*farewell*), ὦ τεκοῦσα, χαίρε Κασ-

- ΧΟ. ἔρως πατρώας τῆσδε γῆς σ' ἐγύμνασεν. 545  
 ΚΗ. ὥστ' ἐνδακρύνειν γ' ὄμμασιν χαρᾶς ὕπο.  
 ΧΟ. τερπνῆς ἄρ' ἴστε τῆσδ' ἐπήβολοι νόσον.  
 ΚΗ. πῶς δῆ; διδαχθεὶς τοῦδε δεσπότη λόγου.  
 ΧΟ. τῶν ἀντερώντων ἱμέρῳ πεπληγμένος.  
 ΚΗ. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις. 550  
 ΧΟ. ὡς πόλλ' ἀμανρᾶς ἐκ φρενός ε' ἀναστένειν.  
 ΚΗ. πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον; τοῦτ' ἐπὶν στύγος στρατῶ;  
 ΧΟ. πάλαι τὸ σιγαῖν φάρμακον βλάβης ἔχω.  
 ΚΗ. καὶ πῶς; ἀπόντων κοιράνων ἔτρεψεν;  
 ΧΟ. ὡς νῦν—τὸ σὸν δῆ—καὶ θανεῖν πολλὴ χάρις. 555

551. φρενός ἀναστένειν.

554. τυράννων

555. ὦν

σάνδρα τέ μοι. *Hec.* χαίρουσιν ἄλλοι, μητρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν τόδε (others may take comfort, but not a mother). *Pol.* Ἰπ (Πολύδωρος) καὶ θανούσης ὅμῃα συγκλήσει τὸ σὸν *Hec.* τέθνηκ' ἐγώ γε πρὶν θανεῖν κακῶν ὕπο. See also *Eur. Hel.* 186 τοῖς πράγμασιν τέθνηκα, *id. Or.* 1028 ἄλῃς δ' π' Ἀργεῖας χερὲς τέθνηκα (*I have been tortured*). This, or something like it, would also give its proper sense (*I admit*) to οὐκ ἀντερῶ—It must not however be taken as certain even that ἀντερῶ stands for ἀντερῶ. It may equally stand for ἀντερῶ, signifying to be jealously in love with death, 'jealous of the buried dead', and the reply rather points to something of this kind.

545. ἐγύμνασεν *hath tortured thee*: see *P. V.* 603 κυρὶ με φλέξον ἢ χθονὶ κάλυπον, .. μηδὲ μοι φθορήσῃς εὐγμάτων. ἄδην με πολὺ πλανοὶ πλάναι γεγυμνάσθαι, and *Soph. Trach.* 1083.

546. ἐνδακρύνειν literally 'weep into it', i.e. the earth. The man is still kneeling.

547. *Then learn that it is a sweet anguish which ye have taken*; because, as they explain, love returned is sweet—τερπνῆς predicate—τῆσδε νόσον· ἔρωτος.—ἐπήβολοι: cf. *v.* 825 τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον.—Hermann defends ἴστε,

taking ἐπήβολοι as equivalent to a participle (ἐπήβολοι ὄντες): and it is characteristic of Aeschylus to use adjectives participially.—ἴστε (*were*, irregular form, *Ahrens*), ἦτε b.

549. πεπληγμένος. As this line explains and continues *v.* 547, consistency would require πεπληγμένοι (*Tyrwhitt*). But according to the practical grammar of speech and poetry, as distinguished from logical theory, there is no objection to the singular. From the singular *σε* of *v.* 545 the speaker deflects, without any reason except the caprice of thought, into the plural *ἴστε* of *v.* 547 and then back again to the singular in *v.* 549. Either might have been used throughout indifferently. The re-appearance of the singular gives the feeling a more personal turn. To change it is to stiffen the movement of life. See also next note.

551. 'Aye, and oft sighed for thee from a weary heart' φρενός σ' (*Boissonade*) is preferable technically and in sense to φρενός μ' (*Scaliger*).—ἀναστένειν *to sigh for* (cf. ἀνακαλεῖν) is commonly used of the absent or the dead. *Supra* 417 and *Eur. Or.* 156 ἐτι μὲν ἐμπνέει, βραχὺ δ' ἀναστένει are among the few examples in tragedy of an intransitive use: in *id. Hec.* 186 τί με δυσφρομεῖς.

*Eld.* Hast thou longed for thy native land with a torturing love?

*Her.* Aye, so that for joy mine eyes weep tears upon it.

*Eld.* Then learn that 'tis a sweet languishing ye have taken.

*Her.* How so? I need a lesson to master thy saying.

*Eld.* As being struck with a passion not unreturned.

*Her.* Argos, thou sayest, pined for her pining soldiers.

*Eld.* So pined, as oft to sigh for thee from a weary heart.

*Her.* Whence this melancholy? Was there yet this distress reserved for us that have fought?

*Eld.* For long past I have used silence to prevent hurt.

*Her.* But how so? Wast thou, the kings being away, in fear of some one?

*Eld.* So much that now, as thou sayest, e'en death were grateful.

τί πούρ' ἀναστένεις; the object (με) is continued and the verb means (see the context) *to call as if dead*.—For the interchange of στρατὸν and σε, see previous note.

552. The herald, at first merely puzzled, begins to perceive that something is wrong.—πῶθεν...στρατῶ; *Whence this melancholy? Was there yet this in reserve to distress us that have fought?* an exclamation of disappointment, 'Have we come home only to find more trouble here?' For ἐπειναι 'to be destined, appointed' see Hesiod, *Op.* 114 (the subject is mankind in the golden age) ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζων ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες, | νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνων καὶ δόλπου, οὐδέ τι δειλὸν | γῆρας ἐπ' ἦν (no miserable old age awaited them), αἰεὶ δὲ πῶδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοίαι | τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι κτλ. See also the cognate ἐφροσθάναι in Hom., *Il.* 12. 322 foll. (if to shun war had been to live ageless and deathless, it would have been well to shun it), νῦν δ' ἐμπης γὰρ κῆρεϊ ἐφροσθᾶσιν θανάτου | μυρία, αἶε οὐκ ἔστι φονγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι, | ἵομεν.—στίγος (cf. v. 563) is a further predicate, and upon this rather than upon the verb depends στρατῶ.—If this line be taken

(so MS.) as one sentence, στρατῶ means *the people*, i.e. the Argives at home, a use possible in itself but hard to reconcile with this context.—πῶλει Kennedy; see further Wecklein, Appendix.

553. *I have long used silence to prevent hurt* (φάρμακον βλάβης like ἀκος ὄπρον in v. 17), a reply ambiguous between the senses 'Least said is soonest mended', and 'Things have been so with us that we dared not even speak'. It thus answers, while it avoids, the question πῶθεν τὸ δύσφρον;

554. καὶ πῶς; *In what sense?* See preceding note.—κοιράνων ἢ, probably by conjecture. τυράννων (f) may have sprung from a gloss.

555. 'So that now, in thine own phrase, I would right gladly even die' (?).—τὸ πόν δ' ἡ alluding to vv. 510—512, and, perhaps also to v. 544 as it originally stood.—ὧς (Scaliger) seems probable. The general sense is fairly clear.—Here the herald, eager to be rid of a disagreeable subject which seems to lead to nothing definite, breaks off into a more congenial theme. One plain word might have saved the king. But the elders cannot make up their minds.



ΚΗ. εὖ γὰρ πέπρακται, ταῦτα δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ.  
 τὰ μὲν τις εὖ λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν,  
 τὰ δ' αὖτε κἀπίμομφα· τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν  
 ἅπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δι' αἰῶνος χρόνον;  
 μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσσαυλίας, 560  
 σπαρνὰς παρήξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους (τί δ' οὐ  
 στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος;),

556—587. This remarkable speech is irregular throughout, even extremely irregular, but not with the irregularity of accidental defacement. Its aberrations are all such as distinguish popular rhetoric from educated rhetoric, and should be compared with the speeches of the *Nurse* in the *Choephori* (where see notes). We have a man of the people wrought to the highest pitch of emotion, pouring out in a voice half choked with sobs and tears a story which is pathetic just because the misery of it is vulgar and commonplace. We should not expect from him the stateliness of Agamemnon or the subtlety of Clytemnestra.

556. *Aye, all is well, well with allowance for the time*, literally 'but that in a long time'. This is irregular, but precisely analogous to the common use of καὶ ταῦτα 'and that'.—It gives a better point to take these words separately, though if they are attached, as usual, to the next line the meaning is practically the same.

557—559. *A man must speak well of his fortune, though some of it be not so good. Only a god can be without trouble all his time*: literally, 'Let a man praise some things, that they are fortunate, and other things, though objectionable', *i.e.* if he gets good, let him take the worse with it and call it all good together—εὖ λέξειεν, the optative is used as a kind of imperative. In the older language this is common both in general and in particular injunctions, *e.g.* *Od.* 18 141 τῷ μήτις ποτὲ πάμπαν ἀνὴρ ἀθεμίστιος εἴη, | ἀλλ' ὅγε σιγῇ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχει *I would have*

*a man not be lawless*, *Od.* 4 735 ἀλλὰ τις ὁσηρῶς Δολίον καλέσει γέροντα, etc (See *Monro, Homeric Grammar*, § 299, *Kühner, Gr. Gram.* 11. § 395 7.) It survives in later writers chiefly in maxims, such as this, *v.* 1375, and *Anstroph. Vesp.* 1431 ἔρδοι τις ἦν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην. In *Pindar Pyth.* 10. 21 θεὸς εἴη ἀπήμων *κτάρ it must be left to a god to have an untroubled heart* we have a construction somewhat similar, and *Pindar* may be quoting the latter part of the same proverb, which *Aeschylus* (*v.* 558—559) here turns in his own language.—εὖ λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν: literally 'say in their praise that they are fortunate'; cf. *v.* 452 εὖ λέγοντες τὸν μὲν ὡς μάχης ἰδρίν (ἔστίς).—εὖ εὐπετῶς. The assonance of εὖ is a favourite with the Attic poets, occurring not only where the word is repeated in exactly the same sense (as in *v.* 505, and *Supp.* 225 εὖ τ' ἐπεμψεν εὖ τε δεῖξασθω), but also where the sense is only imperfectly parallel, as here and in *Eum.* 869 εὖ δρῶσαν εὖ πάσχουσαν εὖ τιμωμένην, and even where it is not parallel at all, as in *Soph. Trach.* 296 ὅμως δ' ἐνεστί τοῖσιν εὖ σκοπομένους ταρβείν τὸν εὖ πρᾶσσοντα μὴ σφαλῇ ποτε.—*ἀν* λέξειεν *Auratus*.

560—572. The gist of this long period is this, 'We have suffered much, but all's well that ends well'. Paraphrased in logical form, it might run thus: 'For if I were to reckon all our miseries and privations, whether in the ships (560—562), both by night (560—561) and by day (561—562), or on land (563—567), where the neighbourhood of the enemy



*Her.* Yes, we have done well every way, well, for the length of time. A man must speak well of his fortune, though part be not so good. Only a god can be without trouble all his time. For were I to count our sufferings in bad quarters, the narrow and comfortless berths (and in the day-time miserable for want of

aggravated (563—564) the pains of exposure to the damps of the ground and the air (565—567), if I counted up our various distresses from extreme cold to extreme heat (568—571), [*it would make a heavy total*—but] why complain of what is past (572)? etc. But the hypothetical clause loses itself in parentheses and ejaculations, starting again more or less in its track at *v.* 568, and the answering clause disappears altogether in the abrupt transition at *v.* 571.

560. *δυσανθλας* *bad quarters* for sleeping; see *ἀνάλισσθαι*. He divides these under the heads of 'ship-quarters' and 'land-quarters', marking this by the antithesis τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ. The ships, drawn up on shore and protected by a rampart, formed part of the camp. It is of this use that he speaks as well as of the voyage.

561. The miseries of the ships are again divided into 'night' and 'day', night appearing in *κακοστρώτους* (*uncomfortable as beds*) and day being thrown in parenthetically.—*παρήξεις* (?): apparently something like 'berths', from *παρήκειν* *to pass into* (?). The interpretation of the scholia *παροδομαί* (*passages*) does not seem to suit the context.—*παρίξαις* (Wecklein) is a better form.

*ιδ.* *τὶ δ' οὐ μέρος*; Two questions must be distinguished: (1) the construction irrespective of the case of the participles, (2) the nominative case. Irrespective of the case, if, that is, we assume the reading *στένοντας οὐ λαχόντας*, there is no difficulty the context supplies both *ἐλ λέγοιμι* and the pronoun *ἡμᾶς*, and the translation is 'while in the day-time we had—every privation to lament'. The negatives, as Wellauer perceived, are not parallel, nor are the participles *τὶ οὐ*; stands as

usual for *πάν*, and the rest of the sentence is constructed exactly as if *πάν* were written. *οὐ λαχόντες* is literally 'not having got' i.e. 'being without' as in Eur. *Andr.* 385 *λαχοῦσά τ' ἄθλια καὶ μὴ λαχοῦσα δυστυχὴς καθίσταμαι* *with what is offered I must be miserable and without it unhappy*. For the use of the negative term where English would prefer a positive (*privation*) see Demosth. 19. 77 *μὴ οὐν. ὧν ὑμᾶς οὗτος ἐξηπάτησε μὴ δότω δίκην* *Let him not escape punishment for the deceptions practised on you*. The accusative *τὶ οὐ* (i.e. *πάν*) depends not upon *στένοντες* but upon *οὐ λαχόντες*. For the order of the words see *P. V.* 601 *τί ποτε ταῖσδ' ἐνέξεντας εὐρῶν ἁμαρτοῦσαν ἐν πημοναίς*; *Of what sin didst thou connect her (τὶ ἁμαρτοῦσαν εὐρῶν) that thou hast reduced her to this misery?* Thus *τὶ-οὐ στένοντες οὐ-λαχόντες* stands for *πάντων στένοντες ἀτυχήσαντες* *bewailing the privation of everything*. Doubtless a disciplined stylist could not have used so uncouth a form of words, but neither would he have spoken any one of the sentences justly and artistically placed in this speech. Lastly in *ἡμᾶτος μέρος* the accusative is perhaps that of *duration* (like *βίον* in *v.* 1141), and the genitive *ἡμᾶτος* is not partitive but the adjectival genitive 'of equivalent' as in Eur. *Med.* 430 *ἀμετέραν ἀνδρῶν τε μοῖραν* 'our (i.e. the female) division [of mankind] and the male'. So *ἡμᾶτος μέρος* is 'the diurnal portion' of time (*vv.* 556, 559), and is contrasted with *νυκτὸς μέρος* 'the nocturnal portion', implied but not expressed in what precedes, as τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ is contrasted with the unexpressed τὰ μὲν ἐν ναυσίν—Mr W. R. Paton (*Class. Review*, Vol. VII. p. 150) citing Plutarch *de Defectu Oraculorum*, p. 414 A, takes *ἡμα-*

τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ (καὶ προσῆν πλέον στύγος,  
 εὐναὶ γὰρ ἦσαν δηῖον πρὸς τείχεσιν)—  
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γὰρ κάπῳ γῆς λειμώνια 565  
 δρόσοι κατεψέκαζον, ἔμπεδον σῖνος  
 ἐσθημάτων, τιθέντες ἔνθηρον τρίχα—  
 χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις οἰωνοκτόνον,  
 οἶον παρεῖχ' ἄφερτον Ἰδαία χιῶν,  
 ἧ θάλπος, εἴτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβριναῖς 570  
 κοίταις ἀκύμων νηνέμοις εὐδοὶ πεσών,—  
 τί ταῦτα πενθεῖν δεῖ; παροίχεται πόνος·  
 παροίχεται δὲ τοῖσι μὲν τεθνηκόσιν  
 τὸ μήποτ' αὖθις μηδ' ἀναστήναι μέλειν  
 (τί τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν 575

τοῦ μέρους as '(it is) the work (portion) of a day' or 'a day's work', the apodosis to εἰ λέγοιμι. This seems more than possible, but would leave τὸ λαχόντες more abrupt than ever; see Mr Paton's further remarks.—There remains the deferred question as to the nominative case in the participles. The English editors mostly retain it, Paley adding boldly and truly that it is "used without regard to any regular construction". For a special purpose, artistic speech follows real speech and defies grammatical analysis. It is an extreme case of construction 'according to the sense'. The soldiers, as subject of the sufferings, are thought in the nominative, if we may so express it, throughout the whole period, if reduced to symmetry, could naturally be turned so as to have ἡμεῖς for the general subject, thus: εἰ λέγοιμι ὅσα ἐμοχθοῦμεν ἐν τε ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐλιζόμενοι, στρώματα ἔχοντες οὐχ ἱκανά, ἐπὶ τε τῇ γῇ ἐτι δευότερα, ὡς πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατοπεδεύόμενοι, κτλ. Therefore, in the one place in which the soldiers are mentioned, the appropriate nominative is put in simply κατὰ σύνθεσιν, and we have a specimen, perhaps unique, of Greek as it was actually talked.

563 τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ: supply εἰ

λέγοιμι.—καὶ προσῆν .τείχεσιν: a parenthesis, such as in a more regular style would be expressed by a relative clause, 'where there was the additional distress of constant danger from the neighbouring enemy'.

565. ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γὰρ κτλ. We go back to τὰ χέρσῳ.

565—567. Another clause radically inaccurate in logic and grammar, though perfectly intelligible. The remark of Schneidewin on the masculine τιθέντες, that it relates in the speaker's mind to δμβροὶ (rain), is true, but only part of the truth: ἐξ οὐρανοῦ relates to this same δμβροὶ, and so does κατεψέκαζον (drizzled down), and the whole sentence, except the words κάπῳ γῆς λειμώνια δρόσοι. The rain is from first to last the subject in the mind, and the sentence would have run regularly thus, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γὰρ δμβροὶ κατεψέκαζον κτλ. But the words ἐξ οὐρανοῦ suggest by antithesis 'the dew from the earth', which is thereupon thrust in interjectionally; and after this, the subject δμβροὶ being by the antithesis sufficiently given to thought, the sentence proceeds without it, literally thus, 'from the sky (and off the earth marsh-dew too) it drizzled down' etc. In such a fashion

everything), and other miseries by land (and there it was worse, our camp being close to the enemy's wall), how the sky rained, and the dews from the marshy ground, ever rotting our garments and 'breeding foul life, upon us: or were one to count the winter's cold, made so intolerable by the snows of Ida that the birds fell dead, or the heat, when in his noon-day rest the sea sank windless and waveless to sleep—but what need to grieve for these things? The pain is past; so past for the dead, that they care not so much as to rise up any more. Ah why should we count the number of the slain, when the living suffer by

*mutatis mutandis* men frequently speak in every language, but do not generally write.

566. Ἰμπεδὸν σίνος ἰσθημάτων. The rotting of the dress from constant wetting is mentioned not so much for itself, as for the horrible diseases to which it leads and which are specified more particularly in the next words. τιθέντες ἐνθήρον τρίχα putting evil life into the hair, or in plain words 'breeding vermin'. As in Soph. *Phil.* 698 (*ἐνθήρος τοῖς ἐνενόμενός* foot) *ἐνθήρος* is a poetic equivalent for the medical term *τεθνητωμένος* (see L. and Sc. s. *vv.*), so here it represents the same term in another sense (see L. and Sc. s. *vv.* θηρίω, ζῶω). The *θρίξ* is the hair of the whole body, not merely of the head and face.—The interpretation 'shaggy, beast-like' (1) does not satisfy the formation, and (2) is here out of place. The man is speaking of real, not fanciful, miseries. As to the dignity of tragedy, Aeschylus treats it on proper occasions with perfect indifference, and lets his soldier describe the torments of the camp, as his nurse the plagues of the nursery (*Cho.* 753), for what they are, without attempting to conceal what it is his very purpose to express.

568—572. See above on v. 560.

572. The abruptness of these exclamations is aided by the rhythm, the punctuation acting against the caesura.

573. *τοιοῖσι μὲν*: to this irregularly answers *ἡμῶν δὲ...νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος*, v. 578,

*quasi παύχεται δ' ἡμῶν ὥστε νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος*. The trouble is over for all, for the dead completely, for the living, in that they can balance against it their triumph.

574. *τὸ...μέλειω so that they care*, or in the sense that they care, grammatically an 'accusative in apposition to the verbal action' of *παύχεται*. That 'they care not' and that 'the trouble is over' are two aspects of the same fact.

575—577. Another parenthesis. The dead have their gain, and perhaps an advantage over the living.—*Why should we count up the number of the slain, when the living must suffer the persistence of fortune's cruelty?* The two clauses are correlative and make up one conception between them. In English we indicate such a relation by making one clause dependent. The point is that the inevitable pain of the living is inconsistent with the lamenting of the dead or, as it is put, with the counting of the number of them: and the question *τί χρεῖ*; protests against the unreasonableness of the two things taken together.—*τύχης παλικότου* literally 'from fortune being persistently cruel', gen. absolute. *παλικότου* has its full signification (see L. and Sc. s. *v*). Fortune is the harassing disease from which we escape by death. The living *ἀλγεῖ*, because such is the law of fate; the question is why, this being so, we should ask 'how many are dead?' and not rather 'how many are living to feel?'

τὸν ζῶντα δ' ἀλγεῖν χρὴ τύχης παλιγκότου ;  
καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν συμφοραῖς καταξιῶ).  
ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ  
νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος, πῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει·  
ὥς κομπάσαι τῷδ' εἰκὸς ἡλίου φάει 580  
ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις,  
"Τροίην ἐλόντες δήποτ' Ἀργείων στόλος  
θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα  
δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαίων γάνος".  
τοιαῦτα χρὴ κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν 585  
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· καὶ χάρις τιμῆσεται  
Διὸς τὰδ' ἐκπράξασα. πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον.  
ΧΟ. νικῶμενος λόγοισιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι.  
ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡβᾷ τοῖς γέρουσιν εὖ μαθεῖν.  
δόμοις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Κλυταμῆστρα μέλειν 590  
εἰκὸς μάλιστα, σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ.

590. Κλυταμῆστρα.

577. *To have done with chance is itself, methinks, right acceptable.* πολλὰ χαίρειν συμφοραῖς, literally 'to receive the dismissal of chance', παλλὰ χαίρω being the passive corresponding to the formula of dismissal παλλὰ χαίρει or παλλὰ χαίρειν λέγω *I dismiss, will have no more to do with*: cf. Soph. O. T. 596 νῦν πᾶσι χαίρω *now all wish me joy*. What is said there by Prof. Jebb, that "the phrase has been suggested by χαῖρέ μοι, but refers rather to the meaning than to the form of the greeting", is true here also; 'to be dismissed to happiness' is the meaning in full.—καταξιῶ *I hold acceptable*, like ἀξιῶ *I do not refuse* (Soph. O. T. 944), only stronger. It is the opposite of ἀπαξιῶ *I reject*. See Theb. 654.—καὶ also: those who live are happy in one way, χαίρουσι συμφοραῖς in one sense, but the dead, who πολλὰ χαίρουσι, are happy too.—συμφοραῖς. The interpretation 'I bid fortune begone' is

possible only if we read, with Blomfield, συμφοράς, and would rather require κελεύω.

578. 'And we that remain, though we have suffered more and longer than the dead and have not received their complete discharge, may still rejoice on the whole, when we consider the everlasting and world-wide glory which redounds to our city'

580—587. These lines are difficult and, if correct, must have been explained by something conventional in the connotation of the language. For a discussion of the details, see Appendix N.—ὥς causal, *since, considering how*, as in Theb. 351 *δυσωβες δὲ καινοπῆμονες, ὡς ἐλπις ἐς τι νικητῶν τέλος μολεῖν*.—κομπάσαι, as the style and honours of a person might be announced before him—τῷδ'ε: for the dative with εἰκός, which is comparatively rare, cf. Eur. Suppl. 40 *πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀρσένων γυναιξὶ πράσσειν εἰκός*.—ποτωμένοις, if correct, agrees with the dative ἡμῖν



fortune's persistency? A full release from chance is also, say I, something worth. And for us who are left of the Argive host, the gain on the balance overweighs the hurt, seeing that yon bright sun may proclaim in our honour, winging our fame over land and sea, 'Troy in old time was won by an Argive armament: and these are the spoils which, to the glory of the gods throughout Hellas, they nailed upon the temples for a monumental pride'. Hearing this, men must needs praise Argos and them that led her host; and the grace of Zeus that wrought it all shall be paid with thanks. And so I have said my say.

*Eld.* Defeat in argument I do not deny. To be teachable is a thing that ages not with age. But the household and Clytaemnestra, whom this news should most nearly interest, must share the gain with me.

supplied from *v.* 578 and constructed as a dative of 'the person interested', literally 'may proclaim for us flying'. For the metaphor cf. Pind. *Nem.* 6. 50 *πέταται δ' ἐπὶ τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης τηλόθεν θυμὸν αὐτῶν*. Here by a bolder figure the subject of the fame is said to 'fly abroad' as the fame is spread, a stretch of language which may be illustrated from Pindar *Isthm.* 3. 28 *ἀνορέαις δ' ἐσχάταισιν οἰκοθεν στάλαισιν ἄπτονθ'* 'Ηρακλείαις 'by their high seats of valour they have reached from home to the ends of the world', *i.e.* their renown has gone so far (and Theognis 237 *σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον πωήσῃ καὶ γῆν* Wecklein).—*Τρόην κτλ.* Offerings from the spoil would be dedicated in places of religion with inscriptions, of which the sense is here paraphrased, naming the dedicators and the occasion. These the sun will proclaim, that is to say, they will be read with each returning day, as those on the palace are now legible in the light of this present morning. Thus the name of Argos will 'fly over land and sea' to the end of time.—*Τρόην*: the archaic (Ionic) form may be intentional in the language of an 'ancient' inscription. See on *Theb.* 259, 447, 519, 590—*δήποτε* (*aliquando*) may

mean either 'at last' or 'formerly' as Paley says. The last seems the better.—*ἀρχαίον γένος* literally 'an ancient pride', the praise is worded as it will be spoken a long time hereafter.—*πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον* a formula of conclusion, indicating here that the thesis *εἰδ' πέπρακται* (*v.* 556) is made out. The elders assent.—See further Appendix N.

588. *νικώμενος λόγουσιν*. The eloquent proof of the herald that 'all is well' has of course not really touched τὸ δύσφρον (*v.* 552), which he does not understand; but this is not the moment to explain, as Clytaemnestra is seen approaching.—The words and context require us to refer *νικώμενος λόγουσιν* to the argument of the herald, not to the proof of the victory, though this may also be in the speaker's mind.

589. 'The capacity for learning is not one of the faculties which is lost with age'. *εὖ μαθεῖν docility* (cf. *εὐμαθής*) is the subject of ἦβᾶ.—*τοῖς γέρονσιν* *for*, as we should say *in the old*.—*ἦβᾶ (ἐστὶ) τοῖς γέρονσιν* (Margoliouth).

591. *σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμὲ καὶ μὲν* and *my gain should be shared with them*, literally 'and it (the tale, ταῦτα) ought (εἰκός) to enrich me *with them* (and not alone)'. The emphasis is on *σὺν* and the clause



ΚΛ. ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ὕπο,  
 ὅτ' ἦλθ' ὁ πρῶτος νύχιος ἄγγελος πυρός,  
 φράζων ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν.  
 καὶ τίς μ' ἐνίπτων εἶπε· "φρυκτωρῶν δία 595  
 πεισθεῖσα Τροίαν νῦν πεπορθῆσθαι δοκεῖς;  
 ἦ κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς αἶρεσθαι κέαρ".  
 λόγοις τοιούτοις πλαγκτὸς οὖσ' ἐφαινόμεν.  
 ὁμῶς δ' ἔθνον· καὶ γυναικείῳ νόμῳ  
 ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν 600  
 ἔλασκον εὐφημοῦντες ἐν θεῶν ἔδραις  
 θνηφάγον κοιμῶντες εὐώδη φλόγα.  
 καὶ νῦν τὰ μᾶσσῳ μὲν τί δεῖ σ' ἐμοὶ λέγειν;  
 ἄνακτος αὐτοῦ πάντα πεύσομαι λόγον.  
 ὅπως δ' ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν 605  
 σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δέξασθαι (τί γὰρ  
 γυναικὶ τούτου φέγγος ἥδιον δρακεῖν,  
 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἄνδρα σώσαντος θεοῦ  
 πύλας ἀνοῖξαι;), ταῦτ' ἀπάγγειλον πόσει·

595. ἐνίπτων.

601. ἐνθέων.

equivalent to *πλουτίζειν μὴ μόνον ἐμέ*.—There is a certain irony in this language. Not knowing the situation, the elders suppose that the herald's news, if welcome to the queen, cannot be altogether welcome.

592. On the situation here, and on the queen's language, see the Introduction.—*ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν*. The antithesis to this does not follow regularly but is substantially given in *καὶ νῦν* v. 603. 'This is not the moment either for exultation (592—602) or for further enquiry (603)'.

594. *Ἰλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν*. Observe that this phrase, thrown in as it were carelessly, utterly changes the character of the supposed beacon-message. As it was represented to the elders above, it reported the 'taking' but did not and could not possibly, under the supposed

circumstances, report the 'destruction' of Troy, which had not occurred and, if Clytaemnestra spoke honestly (v. 353), was not to be expected or desired. But it is of vital moment that the herald should not catch a glimpse of the supposed 'beacon-system'. Nor can he from what the queen here says, simple and frank though it seems to be. It implies what he must already suppose, that the beacon had signalled the arrival of himself and his companions, and this is in fact the truth. On the other hand the fact that the queen refers to the beacon is enough to convince the elders that, however absurd her notion may be, there is no trick in it.

595. *τις*. i.e. the elders in vv. 481 foll., whose language she quotes almost *verbatim*, though she was not then pre-

[Enter CLYTAEMNESTRA attended.]

*Clytaemnestra.* My joy was uttered some while ago, when the first fiery messenger came in the night, telling that Ilium was taken...and destroyed. Then there were some who found fault with me, and said, 'Art thou for a beacon persuaded to think that Troy is taken now? How like a woman's heart to fly up so high!' Thus they argued, proving my error. But for all that I would sacrifice; and by womanly ordinance the country-folk one and all took up the loud cry of holy gladness, and in the sacred temples stilled with feeding incense the fragrant flame.

And now, for the fuller tale, what need I to take it from thee? From the king himself I shall learn it all. Rather, that I may bring my revered lord with swift return to my loving reception—what light more sweet to the eyes of a wife than this, when she opens the gate to her husband, restored by heaven safe from war?—take thou back to my lord this message: let

sent. This however and the arrival of the herald have been reported to her from time to time by those in her interest, as on the stage would be manifest. Plainly she dares not at this crisis lose sight of the elders for a moment; nor is she unwilling to give them a hint that her eye is upon them. The hint is not lost, for when she retires, their language (*v.* 620) is more guarded and unintelligible than ever.—See further the Introduction.

398. ἔφαινόμην: 'they tried to prove me deluded' is the signification of the tense

600. γυναικέω νόμφ *with the woman's ritual*.—ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν *one after another*, masculine (although the ὁλοθυμὸς or sacrificial cry was actually uttered by women, as the text declares), because it is the behaviour of the people, not of the women in particular, which is in view. Cf. *Theb.* 233 ἑμῶν ἀκούσας ἐγγμάτων ἔπειτα σὺ (the maidens of the chorus) ὁλοθυμῶν...παίδανσον.—'Perhaps she is keeping up her satire, 'like women, as you would say, the whole city joined in

the cry'' (Sidgwick)—γυναικεῖοι νόμοι (Wecklein) gives a simpler construction.—νόμφ Cf. νόμισμα *Theb. l.c.*—πόλιν: the Argolid, not 'city' in the modern sense.

602. κομῶντες *quieting, i.e.* piling the incense upon it so that it burned unseen within the heap, instead of blazing. The flame is compared to a creature crying for food till it is stilled.

603. τὰ μάσσω *the fuller story*.—σ' ἑμοί. Both pronouns are emphatic.

605. ὥπως δέξασθαι *that I may bring my revered spouse with swift return unto my loving reception*, literally 'that I may hasten the kind receiving of him returned'. As often (cf. *v.* 487, *v.* 611, *v.* 970) the Greek puts what is principal in the sentence into the participle, not the verb, and it is μολόντα, not δέξασθαι, which is mainly affected by σπεύσω.—Not 'that I may hasten to welcome him'; see *vv.* 609–610.—ἀριστα *with all kindness*, the superlative of εὖ *kindly*, belongs to δέξασθαι: cf. *Supp.* 225 εὖ τ' ἐπεμψεν εὖ τε δεξάσθω.

- ἤκειν ὅπως τάχιστ' ἐράσμιον πόλει, 610  
 γυναιῖκα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὔροι μολών,  
 οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα  
 ἐσθλὴν ἐκείνῳ, πολεμίαν τοῖς δύσφροσιν,  
 καὶ τὰλλ' ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριον  
 οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν ἐν μήκει χρόνου. 615  
 οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν οὐδ' ἐπίψογον φάτιν  
 ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς.  
 ΧΟ.β'. τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος. τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων,  
 οὐκ αἰσχροὺς ὡς γυναικὶ γενναίᾳ λακεῖν.  
 ΧΟ. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε μανθάνοντί σοι 620  
 τοροῖσιν ἐρμηνεύσιν εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.  
 σὺ δ' εἶπέ, κήρυξ—Μενέλεων δὲ πεύθομαι—

610—611. ἤκειν...εὔροι: the construction varies from the oblique to the direct. —ἐράσμιον πόλει...γυναιῖκα πιστὴν δέ: these are antithetical in meaning though not exactly in form. 'Let him come swiftly to find his people loving and his wife faithful' is the sense. It is this antithetic emphasis on πιστὴν which justifies the position of δέ.—εὔροι μολών: see on v. 605.—πιστὴν, οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε: 'faithful to him as he left her' is the sense to the ear, 'faithful to the revenge which she has meditated ever since' the sense to Clytaemnestra's thought. The ambiguity runs all through the following lines, ἐκείνῳ, τοῖς δύσφροσιν etc.

614. σημαντήριον οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν *having never broken seal at all in this long while, i.e.* 'having guarded his property and honour', or to herself 'still keeping my resolution, as it were a covenant'. For the association of the word διαφθεῖρω with this secondary sense see v. 923.—σημαντήριον is properly an adjectival form, meaning 'anything in the nature of a seal (σημαντήρ)'. There is no reference to literal 'seals'. Such seals would naturally be used in the house (Paley cites Eur. *Orest.* 1108), and naturally also it was guarded by dogs: hence

the metaphors: but it is not of these things that Clytaemnestra is thinking or speaking: σφραγίδα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα εὐνῆς: says the schol. correctly.—Still fearing not to be understood she speaks more clearly. —*χρηστικὴ λέξις!*

616. These declarations, which are full of suspicion and peril, are forced upon her by the necessity of the situation. It is an obvious fear that the king may know too much, or before he reaches the fortress may learn too much, for Clytaemnestra's purpose. She thinks it safer therefore to accept the position of one accused and to take the line of defying slander, in the hope that this may be sufficient for the necessary moment.

616—617. τέρψιν...ἀνδρὸς *I know of pleasure or of scandalous address from any other man no more than etc.* For φάτις in the sense of *speech* or *converse* see Soph. *Phil.* 1045 βαρεῖαν φάτιν τήνδ' εἶπε, id. *El.* 329, 1213 (L. and Sc. s.v.). She is so far from sin that she has let no man speak to her unbecomingly. φάτις is parallel to τέρψιν, and both words are related in the same way to ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς.—ἐπίψογον 'liable to reproach', cf. ἐπίμοφοι, ἐπικίνδυνοι.—φάτις may also be taken in the common sense of *rumour*,

him come with all speed to the people that lov<sup>d</sup> him, come to find in his home the wife faithful, even such as he left her, a very house-dog, loyal to one, and an enemy to his toes; aye, and in all else unchanged, having never broken seal at all in this long while. I know of pleasure or scandalous address from any other no more than of dyeing bronze. [*Exit.*]

*A Conspirator.* Self-praise like this, filled full with its truth, it doth not misbesee a noble wife to sound.

*An Elder.* What she hath said looks well, if by their plain interpretation thou readest it.

But herald, say thou—I would know of Menelaus, our well-

report, with the translation 'scandal arising from' i.e. 'connected with' another; but this does not so well satisfy πρὸς and the form of the sentence. The hint given to the ear by the parallelism of τέρψιν οὐδὲ ἰφάτιν would sufficiently explain an exceptional use of the word.

617. χαλκοῦ βαφάς dipping, i.e. dyeing, of bronze, an unknown mystery. Probably the expression referred to some artistic secret (Blomfield). Others suppose it to mean merely 'an impossibility'. The sinister suggestiveness which it takes from metaphors such as ἐβαψας ἔγχος thou hast dipped thy sword Soph. *Ant.* 95, γυνὴ ἐν σφαγαῖσι βάψασα ἑλφος *P. V.* 889, has possibly influenced the poet (Wellauer) but must not be pressed. Between ἑλφος and χαλκός there is for this purpose a wide difference.—Here Clytaemnestra, having so far as possible secured the silence of the elders and the prompt departure of the herald, retires as if to make her preparations.

618—621. Here again (see v. 363) is a passage defying arrangement or explanation with the traditional list of *dramatis personae*. The MS. gives vv. 618—19 to the herald, Hermann transfers them to Clytaemnestra. Whichever be adopted, it is impossible to give any legitimate sense to ἐρμηνεύσιν in v. 621. Where are the commentators on the queen's address, the interpreters of it, to whom

the elders refer? The ἐρμηνεῖς are the speakers of vv. 618—19, who eke out the queen's suspicious exculpation with an approving comment which it very much needs. In fact the Second Chorus, supporting their spokesman, here act a part precisely similar to that in vv. 363 foll. They play to the character which the queen assumes. The elders confine themselves to the dry remark that with this interpretation the herald no doubt comprehends.—τοῖσδε (αὖν): 'when it is like this', i.e. 'being the natural overflow of genuine feeling'. Self-praise is unseemly in itself; that a wife should praise herself in the language of Clytaemnestra is suspicious in itself; but as she did so (evidently) only under the overpowering desire to assure the king of her devotion, it is not unseemly or suspicious in her.—οὕτως as she has—μανθάνοντι. εὐπρεπῶς speciously if you understand what has been said by their clear interpretation. σοι depends on εὐπρεπῶς, ἐρμηνεύσιν (instrumental) on μανθάνοντι.—See on this passage Headlam, *Class. Rev.* XVII. 242

622. οὐ δ' εἰπέ, κήρυξ. They detain him, as he turns to go. He is unwilling to be questioned, having only bad news to tell. Seeing this, they add hastily 'But I would know about Menelaus', and then more pressingly 'just (ye) whether he is with you'.

- εἰ νόστιμός γε καὶ σεσφωσμένος πάλιν  
 ἤξει σὺν ὑμῖν, τῇσδε γῆς φίλον κράτος.  
 ΚΗ. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῇ καλὰ 625  
 ἐς τὸν πολὺν φίλοισι καρποῦσθαι χρόνον.  
 ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' ἂν εἰπὼν κεδνὰ τάληθῇ τύχοις;  
 σχισθέντα δ' οὐκ εὐκρυπτα γίγνεται τάδε.  
 ΚΗ. ἀνὴρ ἄφαντος ἐξ Ἀχαικοῦ στρατοῦ,  
 αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον. οὐ ψευδῇ λέγω. 630  
 ΧΟ.β'. πότερον ἀναχθεῖς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ἰλίου,  
 ἢ χεῖμα, κοινὸν ἄχθος, ἤρπασε στρατοῦ;  
 ΚΗ. ἔκρυσας ὥστε τοξότης ἄκρος σκοποῦ·  
 μακρὸν δὲ πῆμα συντόμως ἐφημίσω.  
 ΧΟ. πότερα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἢ τεθνηκότος 635  
 φάτις πρὸς ἄλλων ναυτίλων ἐκλήζετο;  
 ΚΗ. οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὥστ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι τορῶς,  
 πλὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος Ἑλίου χθονὸς φύσιν.  
 ΧΟ. πῶς γὰρ λέγεις χειμῶνα ναυτικῷ στρατῷ  
 ἐλθεῖν τελευτήσαι τε δαιμόνων κότῳ; 640  
 ΚΗ. εὐφημον ἦμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακᾶγγέλῳ  
 γλώσση μαιίνειν· χωρὶς ἢ τιμὴ θεῶν.  
 ὅταν δ' ἀπενεκτὰ πῆματ' ἄγγελος πόλει  
 στυνγνῶ προσώπῳ πτωσίμῳ στρατοῦ φέρῃ,

627. τύχη.

629. ἀνὴρ.

625. 'I could not tell false tidings to seem fair', καλὰ being predicative.— λέξαιμι 'remote deliberative optative', a variation from the deliberative subjunctive found in interrogative sentences both direct, as Ar. *Plut* 438 ποῖ τις φύγοι; and indirect, as this and Eur. *Alc.* 52 ἐστ' οὐν ὅπως Ἀλκαστὶς εἰς γῆρας μῶλοι; "The difficulty is, not why *ἂν* is omitted, for the sentences are not conditional, but why the *remote* form (optative) is used instead of the primary form (subjunctive) when the sentences are all of a *primary* character. The answer is that the op-

tative expresses the remoteness, not as usual of *pastness*, but of possibility: the instinct is to express by the optative something more out of the question than the subjunctive would have expressed. Thus in Ar. *Plut* 438 ποῖ φύγοι would be in ordinary circumstances the expression. . . but φύγοι, the MS. reading, . . is the exclamation of supreme terror, treating escape as in the last degree unlikely" (Sidgwick).

626. καρποῦσθαι, literally 'so as for them to enjoy it'. He would spare them pain, if the truth could be long concealed.



loved king,—this only, whether he hath returned safe and will arrive with you.

*Her.* It were impossible, if I told a false tale fair, that unto long time your love should enjoy it still!

*Eld.* Oh, that thy true tale might be happily told! 'Tis not easy to hide, when good and true are parted.

*Her.* The prince is gone from the Achæan host, himself and his ship also. It is the truth.

*A Conspirator.* Did he put forth in your sight from Ilium? Or was he snatched from the rest by a storm which fell upon all?

*Her.* Thou hast, like a master bowman, hit the mark, and put a length of trouble in a brief phrase.

*Eld.* What then of the prince? Did the general rumour of the voyagers declare him living or dead?

*Her.* None can tell that for certain, save one only, the Sun that sustaineth life over all the earth.

*Eld.* And what from first to last was the story of the storm, thus sent on the fleet by angry gods?

*Her.* A day sacred to joy should not be fouled by the tongue of evil tidings. Religion sunders the two. When one with sad countenance brings to a people heavy tidings of an army fallen,

627. *τίχους* Porson. 'Would that thou couldst speak truth to be good!' i.e. 'would that thy news could be both pleasing and true!' The form of expression imitates (Klausen, Kennedy) that of the herald's speech preceding.—*ἀν εἰπὼν τίχους* properly 'be so happy as to speak'.

629. *ἀνὴρ* Hermann.

631—632. Best assigned to the speaker of *vv.* 618—619. The herald is surprised, as well he may be, at the rapidity with which the questioner, out of all the possibilities, lights upon the exact truth. But in truth this questioner has the same knowledge of the facts which Clytemnestra exhibits before the Herald's arrival (*vv.* 350 foll.), and his question is put merely in the hope of cutting the dangerous conversation short.—*ἐμφανῶς* *visibly*, i.e.

so that it was known when he went, as contrasted with the *unperceived* disappearance in a storm.

635. *αὐτοῦ* Menelaus himself, as opposed to the *ἄλλοι*. They suppose that something may have been heard of Menelaus' ship, and ask what was the latest news of *the prince*.

638. *φύειν* in the full sense of the word (*ὅτε φύεται*) 'all that groweth on earth,' i.e. all life.

640. *δαίμόνων*: the gods of Troy presumably; see *v.* 350.

642. *χωρὶς ἢ τιμῇ θεῶν* *the functions belong to different gods*, literally 'the religious province (*τιμὴ θεῶν*) is distinct in the two cases', the one belonging to joyous or friendly gods, the other to gloomy or adverse gods. Not 'the worship of the gods is to be kept dis-

πόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἐν τὸ δῆμιον τυχεῖν, 645  
 πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας δόμων  
 ἄνδρας διπλῇ μάστιγι, τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ,  
 δίλογχον ἄτην, φοινίαν ξυνωρίδα,  
 τοιῶνδε μὲν τοι πημάτων σεσαγμένον  
 πρέπει λέγειν παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἑρινύων. 650  
 σωτηρίων δὲ πραγμάτων εὐάγγελον  
 ἤκουτα πρὸς χαίρουσαν εὖεστοῖ πόλιν—  
 πῶς κεδνὰ τοῖς κακοῖσι συμμίξω λέγων  
 χειμῶν', Ἀχαιῶν οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεοῖς;  
 ξυνώμοσαν γάρ, ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρίν, 655  
 πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πίστ' ἐδειξάτην  
 φθειρόντε τὸν δύστηνον Ἀργείων στρατόν.  
 ἐν νυκτί, δυσκύμαντα δ' ὠρώρει κακά.  
 ναῦς γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλησι Θρήκiai πνοαὶ  
 ἤρεικον' αἱ δὲ κεροτυπούμεναι βίᾳ 660

649. σεσαγμένον.

tinct from bad news' Both functions are τιμαὶ θεῶν, but of different *θεοὶ* and not to be confounded.

645. ἔλκος... πολλοὺς accusatives in apposition to πῆματα—πόλει... τὸ δῆμιον the regular antithesis *ὅλα τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον* is replaced by an equivalent.—ἔλκος.. τυχεῖν a blow to be met or to sustain.—πολλοὺς ἐξαγισθέντας 'the taking of many a victim'; for the participial construction see *Theb.* 611 γυμνωθέν δόρυ and note there

647. ἄνδρας 'men' i.e. men singly as opposed to πόλεις. Cf. the opposition of *ἄνδρες*, *ἄνθρωποι* in *Theb.* 584—599.

ἰδ. διπλῇ μάστιγι 'two-pointed prong': see on *Theb.* 595 (and Dr Leaf on *Hom. H.* 23. 387). The epithet *δίλογχος* shows that *μάστιξ* is not a whip. In *Theb.* 1 c. it is a prong used for the killing of fish or game taken in a net. Here the expression *ἐξαγισθέντας* (taken out as consecrated offerings) suggests rather an instrument for

taking from a victim or sacrifice the parts reserved for the gods, or persons privileged, such as the *fleshhook* of three teeth mentioned in 1 Samuel ii. 13. The metaphor is the more likely, as Ares is a 'man-eating' god (τοῦτω γὰρ Ἄρης βόσκεται, φόνω βροτῶν *Theb.* 230, and see *inf.* v. 1511) and is said to have been worshipped with human sacrifice down to recorded times; Porphyry, *De Abstemientia* 21. 55 ἐπεὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τῷ Ἄρει θύειν ἄνθρωπον (reference supplied by Mr H. B. Smith).

649 τοιῶνδε μὲν τοι *he indeed who* etc.; the sentence *εὖαν φέρῃ* is resumed. In *μὲν τοι* the particles have each their distinct forces: *μὲν* answers to *δέ* in v. 651; *τοι* of course.—πημάτων constructed with *σεσαγμένον* as signifying 'fulness'—*σεσαγμένον* Schütz. *σεσαγμένον* 'heaped' or 'packed upon him' is possible, but the other better.

650. τόνδε, either (1) 'such an ἄγγελος

the state wounded with one great national grief, and many a home robbed of its single victim by Ares' fork, his weapon beloved, two-headed, horrible, red in both prongs with blood; he that beareth such a pack of woe may well say a hymn to Those who punish. But when one cometh with tidings of deliverance to a folk rejoicing in happiness—how shall I mingle this good with that ill, with tale of the storm, at which our national gods must needs be displeased?

A conspiracy there was between two that had been utter foes, between fire and sea, and for pledge and proof of their league they destroyed the hapless men of Argos. In darkness it was done, which swelled the agony to its height, for the ships were dashed one against another by Thracian winds, till butting

λοῦ' a resumptive pronoun. 'he, the messenger of disaster, may naturally say a triumph-song to the *Erinyes*', the agents of punishment, but the messenger of good owes his duty elsewhere: or (2) with *παῖδρα*, but as the statement is general, the pronoun, so construed, seems out of place.

653. He turns abruptly from the general case to himself as an instance of it.—*How can I mix good with bad, with a tale of the storm, which cannot but displease our nation's gods?*—'Ἀχαιῶν οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεοῖς, literally 'a thing not unprovoking to the gods of the Achaeans': the emphasis on 'Ἀχαιῶν being given by position. οὐκ ἀμήνιτον (neuter) is an accusative in apposition to the verbal action (τὸ τὸν χειρῶνα λέγειν). θεοῖς, dative of the person whose judgment or view is in question.—The present hour of triumph is properly devoted to the gods of Argos: to narrate now a disaster inflicted by powers hostile to Argos and to them (v. 640) is as it were to interrupt their service (vv. 642—650) and risk their displeasure. Prof. Tucker (*Class. Rev.* vii, p. 341) defends the text nearly in the same way. Difficulty has arisen from taking ἀμήνιτον as masculine. The reading of Dobree Ἀχαιοῖς οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν, com-

monly adopted, is not satisfactory: θεῶν can be explained as an extension of this primitive use with negative adjectives, see οὐκ ἀπαππον πυρός (v. 323); but (1) the dative Ἀχαιοῖς, and (2) the stress on Ἀχαιοῖς are questionable.

655—657. See Appendix O.

655. Imitated by Milton *Par. Reg.* iv. 412 'Water with fire in ruin reconciled'. (Paley.)

658. *In darkness, which swelled the agony to its height*, literally 'in darkness, and terribly swollen was raised the distress'. Night aggravated the situation; the ships could not then be kept clear of each other and soon became unmanageable. This verse well illustrates the pregnant use of words in poetry. δυσκύμαντα is formed from the transitive κυμαίνω, meaning properly *make to swell*, from κύμα, originally *that which is pregnant*, then *anything swollen*, then specially *a wave*. All the meanings here merge in a triple suggestion of *increase*, *labour*, and *tempest*.

659 ἀλλήλησι irregular archaism for ἀλλήλαισι.

660. κροτυπούμεναι; ποιμένος: the comparison is to a herd of cattle driven wild and scattered by a storm.

χειμῶνι τυφῶ σὺν ζάλῃ τ' ὄμβροκτύπῳ  
 ῥχοντ' ἄφαντοι, ποιμένος κακοῦ στρόβῳ.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνῆλθε λαμπρὸν ἡλίου φάος,  
 ὀρῶμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς  
 ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικῶν τ' ἐρειπίων. 665  
 ἡμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ ναῦν τ' ἀκήρατον σκάφος  
 ἦτοι τις ἐξέκλεψεν ἢ ἔξητήσατο,  
 θεός τις, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οἶακος θιγῶν.  
 τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο,  
 ὥς μήτ' ἐν ἀρμῷ κύματος ζάλῃν ἔχειν 670  
 μήτ' ἐξοκεῖλαι πρὸς κραταίλειον χθόνα.  
 ἔπειτα δ' Αἰδὴν πόντιον πεφηνγότες,  
 λευκὸν κατ' ἡμαρ, οὐ πεποιθότες τύχῃ,  
 ἐβουκολοῦμεν φροντίσιν νέον πάθος,  
 στρατοῦ καμόντος καὶ κακῶς σποδομένου. 675  
 καὶ νῦν ἐκείνων εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐμπνέων,  
 λέγουσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς ὀλωλότας, τί μή;  
 ἡμεῖς τ' ἐκείνους ταῦτ' ἔχειν δοξάζομεν.  
 γένοιτο δ' ὡς ἄριστα. Μενέλεων γὰρ οὔν  
 πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα προσδόκα μολεῖν, 680

670. ὄρμω.

661 'Under the storm of the hurricane and by the beating rain of the surge'. σὺν instrumental. The line may be variously taken without difference, but this way (Sidgwick, Wecklein) is the simplest.—ὄμβρος *rain* belongs rather to the metaphor of the herd than to the ships.

662. ποιμένος στρόβῳ *lashed round by their cruel driver*. στρόβῳ: a unique word, literally, it would seem, meaning *spin*. *στροβέω* is to *spin*. ποιμένος, the storm itself in a new metaphorical aspect.

664—665 ἀνθοῦν: a last glimpse of the metaphor from the herd; the sea is the plain or field which in the morning is seen to have broken out in flowers after the rain. νεκροῖς ἐρειπίων: 'with dead

things, Achaean men and wreckage of ships'. The genitives define νεκροῖς. For the style of Aeschylus, it does not seem unnatural to suggest poetically that ships as well as men were 'dead'—ναυτικοῖς τ' ἐρειπιοῖς *Auratus*, but the corruption is not easily explained.

666 σκάφος: the stripped vessel was a *hull entire* but no more.

667. "Stole us away or begged us off from destruction: a bold but quite characteristic phrase, requiring no emendation". Sidgwick.

669. *Fortune, to save us, was pleased to ride on board her θέλουσα*: their miraculous escape must be put down to the caprice of fate.—The objection to this is,

violently beneath the storm of the hurricane and the beating rain of the surge they fled away and away, lashed round by their cruel driver. And when the bright dawn rose, we saw on the Ægean, thick as flowers, the wrecks of men and of ships. As for ourselves and our ship, yet whole in hull, we were stolen away or, may be, were begged off by some one more than human, who took her helm. Fortune, to save us, was pleased to ride aboard of her, and keep her alike from taking in the surging water between her planks and from running upon rocks. So having escaped a watery grave, there in the white day, scarce sure of our good fortune, we brooded melancholy upon our altered case, our host undone and utterly breaking to pieces. And at this moment if any of them is living and draws breath, they are doubtless speaking of us as lost, while we imagine the same case for them. But let us hope the best.

For Menelaus then, be it first supposed and soonest, that

that ναῦν should rather be supplied than expressed. — ναυστολοῦσθ' (Casaubon) is good, but hazardous, and θέλουσα is in itself effective.

670. So that she took not in the surging water between her planks. ἐν ἄρμῳ (Wecklein) literally 'at a joining' This brilliant suggestion may be accepted provisionally. It makes good sense, and without something of the kind κύματος ἄλγην ἔχειν is incomplete. The rarity of ἄρμῳ and the familiarity of ὄρμος account for the error — ἐν ὄρμῳ, in the roads, at mooring, seems unintelligible. Can it be conceived that in the circumstances described the vessel should be moored at all? The two obvious dangers were springing a leak and running upon island or rock. — ἔχειν to take, get: see on v. 724 — ἐν ὅλκῳ κύματος (G. F. Abbott, *Class. Rev.* XIII. 401, citing οἰδματος ὅλκοι Ap. Rhod. i. 1167). But is ἄλγην ἔχειν by itself intelligible?

674. ἰβουκολοῦμεν literally 'ruminate', i.e. brooded on.

675. σποδοῦμένου: a strong word from popular language. See on Theb. 794.

676. εἰ τις ἔστιν ἐμπνέων 'if any is in

being and draws breath'. — For ἔστι cf. the phrases οὐκέτ' ἔστι he is no more, he is dead, θεοὶ ἀλὲν ἐόντες 'gods that live for ever' etc. — ἔστιν ἐμπνέων, M., quasi 'is breathing, is alive.' For other conjectures see Wecklein's Appendix.

679. Μενέλιων γὰρ οὖν As for Menelaus then. γὰρ οὖν marks that the narrative has now been brought to the point at which the question which drew it (v. 622) can be fully answered.

680. πρῶτον. μολεῖν be it first and soonest supposed that he got home. προσδόκα: προσδοκᾶν and ἐλπίζειν, like the English expect, are used in reference not only to the future, but also, with the sense suppose, to the present and past, and in that sense take the same tense in the sequent infinitive as other verbs of thinking. For examples see L. and Sc. s. vv. — μολεῖν that he arrived, i.e. that his ship, like that of Agamemnon, got home, that he reached the Peloponnese after the storm, only, being carried to a greater distance, at some other part of the coast. He would make for the nearest accessible point, not necessarily for Argos. It is natural that this not improbable and con-



εἰ δ' οὖν τις ἀκτὶς ἡλίου νιν ἱστορεῖ,  
 χλωρόν τε καὶ βλέποντα, μηχαναῖς Διός  
 οὐπω θέλοντος ἐξαναλῶσαι γένος,  
 ἐλπίς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δόμους ἤξειν πάλιν.  
 τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας ἴσθι τάληθ' ἡ κλύων. 685

681

- ΧΟ. τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ᾧδ' στρ. α'.  
 ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως  
 (μή τις ὄντιν' οὐχ ὀρώμεν προνοί-  
 αισι τοῦ πεπρωμένου  
 γλῶσσαν ἐν τύχῃ νέμων;) 690  
 τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφίνει-  
 κῇ θ' Ἑλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως  
 ἑλένας, ἔλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις,  
 ἐκ τῶν ἀβροτίμων  
 προκαλυμμάτων ἐπλευσεν 695  
 ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὔρα,  
 πολύανδροι τε φεράσπιδες κυνα-  
 γοὶ κατ' ἰχνος πλατᾶν ἄφαντον

682. καὶ ἰῶντα.

686. ὠνόμαζεν.

689. αἰς.

698. πλατᾶν.

soling supposition should be entertained, till it is disproved.—Not 'expect him to return' or 'that he will return'. This sense of the aorist, if it be possible in itself, is inadmissible here. The supposition put forward in v. 680 is manifestly something distinguished from ἐλπίς τις ἤξειν in v. 684.

681. εἰ δ' οὖν *and, supposing the contrary (οὖν), still if, supposing, that is, he has not got in*—*τις ἱστορεῖ any ray of the sun is discovering him*. Again here the language is coloured by a natural suggestion of the morning hour.

682. *χλωρόν τε καὶ βλέποντα, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰῶντα* Hesychius, whence Toup restored it here. It is not certain that the gloss relates to this passage, but it is highly probable, and the improvement is great—*μηχαναῖς Διός*: join with ἤξειν.

683. *γένος*: his offspring, the family of the Atreidae, descended from him.—*οὐπω θέλοντος*: 'whose will it *never* is', i.e. 'who may be presumed not to will'.

684. *αὐτὸν* emphatic; 'for him, if for any, there is a hope'

685. *This is all that I can tell you for fact, literally 'so far you may know that you have been told the facts'*—Exit the Herald. For the situation see the Introduction

686. *ὠνόμαζεν* 'proposed to name', 'suggested the naming'.—The ms has the aorist, in the Doric form *ὠνόμαξεν*. The tense is more suitable, but the forms in -ξω, -ξα are not commonly used in tragic chorus. We are perhaps not in a position to determine what subtleties of literary association might guide a poet in the use of such a composite and artificial

he got home. And at worst, if anywhere the sun's ray is discovering him, Zeus, we may hope, who cannot mean to destroy his offspring quite, will contrive to bring him alive and well to his home again. So much is all I can warrant you for fact.

[Exit.

*The Elders.* Who can have given that name, so to the very letter true? Was it some unseen power, who by foreknowledge of fate guided his tongue aright, that named the woman wooed with battle and spear by the name of Helen? She proved her name indeed upon ships and men and peoples, when from the delicate veils of her costly bower she passed over sea, before the gale of the felon West, and after her a great hunt of shielded soldiers, following by the vanished track of the oar a quarry

language, see *v.* 1508. The Doric form would here prepare the way for *ἐλένας* *v.* 693, and the whole art of interpreting *δόματα* seems to have been in its origin Sicilian; see *Journal of Philology* ix. p. 197. But it is likely that *ῥόμασεν* is an error; in *v.* 430 the reading of *l* is 'apparently *γεμίξων*', and see *v.* 776.

687. ὦδ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως 'with such entire and literal truth'. On *ἐτητύμως* and its etymological associations see the *Seven etc.*, Appendix II.—*ἐς τὸ πᾶν*, or *ἐς τοπᾶν* i.e. 'with such literal truth in respect of his divination'? For the reasons in favour of *ἐς τοπᾶν* see Appendix E and the *Journal of Philology* ix. pp. 128—141. The traditional reading is admissible.—Mr Sidgwick objects that the word *τοπᾶν* *divination*, meaning not 'prophecy' but 'conjecture' as opposed to 'knowledge', is here unsuitable. But I submit that what was supposed to be 'divined' by the *μάντις* at the naming of a child was its yet undeveloped character (*φύσις*, see the article cited), and that this was 'divined' or 'conjectured'.

688 *μή*...; *Can it have been etc.*—*τις ὄντινα*, studiously vague, 'an unknown some one'.

690 *ἐν τύχῃ* *aright*, 'so as to hit the mark', literally 'with hit', or 'with rightness', *ἐν* indicating circumstance. The phrase is very probably technical.

692. 'Ἐλέναν predicate with *ῥόμασεν*: *τῶν δορὶ γαμβρόν ἀμφιευκῆ τε* is substantial

693. *ἐλένας* *destroyer* (see *ἐλέων*, *αἰρέω*) of ships, a Doric form from *ἐλένασις*, as *Μενέλας* from *Μενελάσις* *Menelaus* (retained by Salmasius, Enger and Sidgwick). Here the use of the exceptional form could hardly be avoided, if the point was to be made at all. With the Attic *ἐλένασις* (Blomfield), which does not suggest the accusative *ἐλέναν*, the coincidence disappears

694. *τῶν* *those*, as if they were famous, as in legend they probably were.—*ἀβροτίμων* *delicate-costly*, *ἀβρίων καὶ τιμίων*.

695. *ἐκ προκαλυμμάτων*.....*ἐπλευσεν* *she left her curtained bower to sail the sea*, imitated by Euripides, speaking of Medea flying with Jason (*Med* 431), *ἐκ μὲν οἴκων ἐπλευσας thou didst quit for the sea thy father's house*.—For *πλευσαι* to *take to sea* cf. Eur. *Hec.* 1205 *πλευσάντες αὖθις*.

696. *γίγαντος*: implying not merely strength, but fierce, uncontrolled strength, the *γίγαντες* being characteristically *rebels* against the divine law. In fact the wind itself typifies the wild and monstrous passion.

698. *πλατῶν* *Heath*, the better accentuation, *in the oars* *unseen track*.—Supply *ἐπλευσαν*.

κελσάντων Σιμόεντος  
 ἀκτὰς ἐπ' ἀξιφύλλους 700  
 δι' ἔριν αἱματόεσσαν.  
 Ἴλίῳ δὲ κῆδος ὄρ-  
 θώνυμον τελεσίφρων  
 μῆνις ἤλασε, τραπέζας ἀτί-  
 μωσιν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ 705  
 καὶ ξυνεστίου Διὸς  
 πρᾶσσομένα τὸ νυμφότι-  
 μον μέλος ἐκφάτως τίνοντας,  
 ὑμέναιον, ὃς τότε' ἐπέρρεπεν  
 γαμβροῖσιν αἰεῖδεν. 710  
 μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον  
 Πριάμου πόλις γεραῖα  
 πολύθρηνον μέγα που στένει, κικλή-  
 σκουσα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον,  
 πάμπροσθ' ἡ πολύθρηνον 715  
 αἰῶν' ἀμφὶ πολιτῶν  
 μέλεον αἶμ' ἀνατλᾶσα.

704. ἀτίμως ἔν'.

715. παμπρόσθη.

716. πολιτῶν.

699 κελσάντων of them who had  
 put in or reached land, i.e. Paris and his  
 company —Σιμόεντος, αἱματόεσσαν to  
 the banks of Simois, whose woods must be  
 wasted by their bloody fray, literally 'be-  
 cause of' it ἀξιφύλλους a 'proleptic'  
 epithet describing the result of the hunt,  
 means literally 'with leafage broken' and  
 is formed from the stem of ἀγνύω. For  
 the sense of the verb see II. 12. 146 ἀγο-  
 τέροισι σύεσσι ἐοικότε, τῷ τ' ἐν δρεσσι |  
 ἀνδρῶν ἡδὲ κυῶν δέχεται κολοσυρτὴν  
 ἰόντα, | δοχῷ τ' ἀίσσονται περὶ σφίσιν  
 ἀγνιπτον ὀλην, which passage or others  
 like it Aeschylus probably had in his  
 mind. In the metaphor Paris is the wild  
 beast and Helen his spoil; the avenging  
 Greeks are the huntsmen, who track  
 their prey to the lair (Troy), the war is  
 the fight which, as in Homer's picture,

there ensues, and which devastates the  
 surrounding wood or, without metaphor,  
 causes the destruction and razing of Troy.  
 —ἀξιφύλλους (leafy) is the conjecture of  
 Triclinius (Cod. Farn.). If this be adopted,  
 it is better (since ἀξιφύλλους δι' ἔριν αἱμα-  
 τόεσσαν 'whose forests will grow because  
 of the bloody fray' is hardly sense) to  
 join δι' ἔριν with the main verb; the  
 pursuers come 'prompted by a bloody  
 feud' But there is no ground for change.  
 —The antistrophe (v. 716) gives no  
 evidence between ἀξιφύλλους and ἀξιφύλ-  
 λους, for it does not correspond exactly  
 to either; and see further Appendix II.

702. κῆδος ὀρθώνυμον: a marriage or  
 bride deserving the name in its other  
 sense of sorrow. Cf. the play on κῆδομαι  
 —κηδεστής in Theō 126 —Ἰλῖος depends  
 on κῆδος in the second sense.

landed on Simois' banks, whose woods must be wasted by their bloody fray.

A bride? A sorrowful bride she was to Ilium, pursued by sure-remembering wrath, destined one day to avenge the dishonour of the board, and of Zeus the sanctifier of the feast, upon those that gave expressive honour to that bridal music, the marriage-hymn of the groomsmen, their vantage of an hour. The aged city of Priam hath learnt an altered song, a burden surely of loud lamentation, and finds for the wedded Paris an evil name; for burdened with lamentation have been all her weary days till this for the miserable slaughter of her people.

704. *ἤλασε* *chased*, an echo of the metaphor of the hunt (?).—*ἤνυσεν* Headlam (*Class. Rev.* XIV, 116) with *ὀρθώνομον*, *accomplished the meaning of the name* citing Soph. *Ant.* 1178 *τοῦπος ὡς ἄρ' ὀρθὸν ἤνυσας* etc.—*τραπέζας ἀτίμωσιν* καὶ *ξυν. Διὸς* the offence of Paris against the laws of hospitality (*v.* 374). But by the reference to the 'table' and the description of Zeus as *ξυπέσιος* ('of the shared feast') for the more precise *ξένιος*, the speakers involuntarily touch another and ominous memory, the 'outraged table' of Atreus and his brother. See on *vv.* 136 foll., 1601.—*ἀτίμωσιν* Canter.

707. *πρασσομένα* *to avenge*, with accusatives of the offenders (*τοῖς*) *τίοντας* and the crime *ἀτίμωσιν*, literally 'exact-ing it of them'.—*τὸ* (*ἐκείνο*) *that*.

708. *ἐκφάτως. ἐκφάσθαι* means 'to speak out, articulate', Hom. *Od.* 10. 246 *οὐδέ τι ἐκφάσθαι δόνατο ἔπος λέμενός περ*, *id.* 13. 303 *μηδὲ τι ἐκφάσθαι. ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ πάσχειν ἄλγεα πολλά*. Accordingly *ἐκφάτως* should mean *expressively* (rather than *loudly*, Paley). According to legend, the alternative name of Paris, *Ἀλέξανδρος* (*repelling the husband*), was bestowed upon him for the rape (see *Enr. fr.* 63 Dindorf). From what follows (*v.* 713) it is likely that *ἐκφάτως* refers to this; the Trojans found a significant expression for their admiration of the robber's feat.—*τίοντας* (impf. tense) *did honour to it*,

*i.e.* celebrated it with zeal (cf. *παίανα ἐτίμα* *v.* 258, Wecklein).

709. *ἐπέτρπεπεν* *fell to them*, inclined to them as a scale, which now is turned the other way.—*γαμβροσὶν αἰεῖν* 'to sing as kinsmen of the groom'.

713. *πολύθρηνον* predicate with *στένει*. Supply *αὐτόν, i.e.* τὸν ὕμνον.—*μέγα*, or *μετά* (Schneidewin), *i.e.* *μεταστένει*, 'chants with repentant change'?—*κικλήσκουσα αἰνόμεκτρον*: finding for Paris names very different from the triumphant *Ἀλέξανδρος* (see on *v.* 708). In choosing the contrasted name *αἰνόμεκτρος* Aeschylus is guided perhaps by a certain similarity, with transposition of sounds, to *Ἀλέξανδρος*.

715—717. *For full of lamentation have been all her weary days till now for the miserable slaughter of her people*, literally 'she who sustained all-before a life full of lamentation for' etc.—*πάμπροσθ'* ἢ Blomfield: *πολιτάν* Auratus This sentence takes up the word *πολύθρηνον* from *v.* 713, echoing and explaining it after Aeschylus' manner.—*πάμπροσθε αἰῶνα. ἀνατλάσα* The adverb, though joined in construction with the verb *ἀνατλάσα*, qualifies in effect the substantive *αἰῶνα*. For the 'Ionic' *η* see *vv.* 428, 1104 etc.—*αἶμα*: so *αὐτάδελφον αἶμα* *the slaying of a brother*, *Theb.* 705, and see L. and Sc *s. v.* *αἶμα*—The difficulties found in this passage arise from the hypo-

ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος στρ. β'.  
 Ἴνιν δόμοις ἀγάλακτον  
 οἷτας ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον, 720  
 ἐν βιότου προτελείοις  
 ἄμερον, εὐφιλόπαιδα,  
 καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπὶ χάρτον.  
 πολέα δ' ἔσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις  
 νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν 725  
 φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα σαί-  
 νων τε γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις.  
 χρονισθεῖς δ' ἀπέδειξεν ἀντ. β'.  
 ἦθος το πρὸς τοκέων· χά-  
 ριν γὰρ τροφᾶς ἀμείβων 730  
 μηλοφόνοισιν ἄταις  
 δαῖτ' ἀκέλευστος ἔτευξεν,  
 αἵματι δ' οἶκος ἐφύρθη,  
 ἄμαχον ἄλγος οἰκέταις,  
 μέγα σίνος πολυκτόνον· 735  
 ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεὺς τις ἄ-  
 τας δόμοις προσεθρέφθη.  
 πάραυτα δ' ἔλθειν ἐς Ἰλίου πόλιν στρ. γ'.  
 λέγοιμ' ἂν φρόνημα μὲν ιηνέμου γαλάνας,

718—19 λέοντα σίνυν

720. οὔτος.

729. ἔθος. τοκέων.

734. ἄμαχον δ'.

737. προσετράφη

thesis of *syllabic* correspondence between strophe and antistrophe. Apart from metre the readings (not changes) of Blomfield and Auratus are satisfactory. As to the metre see Appendix II.

718. λέοντος Ἴνιν Conington.

719. ἀγάλακτον (ὄντα), the dam being killed by the huntsmen who took the whelp—Dr Wecklein reads ἀγάλακτα βούτας (see below) ἀνὴρ φιλομάστων, translating ἀγάλακτα φιλομάστων by "as foster-brother of the sucklings in his herd. Cf. Hesych. ἀγάλαξ ὁμοτιτθός, *Etym M.* III. 42 ἀγάλακτες οἱ ἀδελφοί, παρὰ τὸ α

σημαῖνον τὸ ὁμοῦ, ὁμογάλακτές τινες ὄντες, Suid. ἀγάλακτες· θμαιμοί, ἀδελφοί".

720 οἷτας ἀνὴρ a shepherd: οἷτης from οἷς, as βοῦτης from βούς. βότας Heusde, βούτας Wecklein. Something like this, some description attached to ἀνὴρ, is to be sought in οἷτος. But οἷτας is closer, and permits the retention of ἀγάλακτον.—οἷτας would be closer still, but seems not to be a possible formation from ὀλί-τας.

723. Making dignity itself to smile. ἐπὶ χάρτον For χαρά and the cognate words see on *Theb.* 429.—καὶ even, not



A shepherd man in his house brought up a lion's whelp, weaned from the teat, a hungry suckling. Gentle it was in its infant days of love, made friends with youth, drew smiles from gravity's self. And many a thing it got when, like a nursing-child embraced, it fixed a bright eye on the hand and fawned for its belly's need. But after a time it showed the way that was born in it; for it paid thanks for its rearing by bloody ravage of the flock, making a feast unbidden, and the house was dabbled with gore, and the house-folk helpless in agony, and wide was the murderous waste. By God's will it was taken into that dwelling, to do rites of ravage therein.

At first, would I say, to Ilium came what seemed to fancy a windless calm, a darling of rich indolence, whose gentle eye

'and',—*γεραροῖς* not 'seniors' (*γεραιούς*)—*εὐφιλόπαιδα*, 'easily making friends with the *παῖδες*', including the *servants* as well as the *children*. The *γεραροί* are Homer's *αἰδοῖοι*, the masters and graver persons in the house generally.

724. *πολλά δ' ἔσχε* and *many a thing it got*: the pretty tricks of the beast made every one pet it and feed it.—For *σχεῖν* to *get* see Pindar *Ol.* 2. 10 *ἱερὸν ἔσχον* *ἄκῃα* they got a sacred habitation, *Pyth.* 1. 65 *ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας*, *Pyth.* 3. 24 *ἔσχε τοιαύταν ἄφ' ἂν* she conceived such a delusion, etc., with Gildersleeve's notes.—*ἐν ἀγκάλαις* goes with the words which follow and specially with *νεοτρώφου*.

726. *φαιδρωπὸς*...*σαίνων τε*. *φαιδρωπὸς* is treated as a participle, *quasi* *φαιδρῶς προσορῶν τὴν χεῖρα*, cf. *vv.* 349, 547, 1075 etc.—*φαιδρωπῶς* (Weil), *σαίνοντα* (Auratus), translated 'and often he held it in his arms' etc. So Wecklein. The translation of *ἔσχε* by 'it lay' is incorrect, and *ἔσκε* (*it was*, Casaubon) an inappropriate word.

729. *ἦθος* Conington—*τὸ πρὸς τοῦτων* 'which it had from its parents'.

731. *ἄταις τινι, ravage*, as in *Soph.* *Ai.* 308 (Ajax coming to his senses sees the animals he has killed) *καὶ πληρὲς ἄτης ὥς διοπτύει στέγος*.—*ἄταισιν* (i.e. *ἄταισιν*?) *h.* *ἄταισιν surfest* Conington, *ἄταις shrieks* Ahrens, *ἀγασίν wreckage* Klausen,

etc., for metre, but see Appendix II.

734. *ἄμαχον ἄλγος*: accusative in apposition to the conception *αἵματι ἐφύρθη*. The conjunction *δέ* in *f* is due to mistake of the construction.

736—737. *ἐκ θεοῦ*. 'providentially, by divine suggestion', the divine power avenging the lions, as the eagles in *v.* 57.—*δόμοις προσεθρέφθη* 'was reared as an additional inmate of the house', was added to the household (Dr Headlam, *On editing Aeschylus* p. 108); not 'was reared in the house'.—*προσεθρέφθη* Heath—*προσετράφθη* (Ionic aor. of *προστρέπω*) 'was directed to the house', ed. I.; but I would withdraw this, being satisfied that my objections to *προσεθρέφθη* were mistaken—*ιερεὺς τις ἄτας*: 'as a minister of ruin', i.e. to be such *ιερεὺς*, properly 'sacrificer to ruin'.—*προσετρέφθη*, 'was inflicted upon', Prof. Bury (*Class. Rev.* xi. 448), using against *προσεθρέφθη* my own argument that metre would have protected it; but see Headlam *l.c.*

738. *πάραντα* at first, *παροχρῆμα* (Hesychius), derived from *παρ' αὐτὰ* 'just upon the event'. So in *Eur. fr.* 1064 *πάραντα δ' ἡσθεὶς ὅσπερ στένει μέγα* (Wecklein).—*Θηέν*, the real subject is *Helen*, the aspects or effects of whose presence are personified.

739. *φρόνημα μὲν νηνέμου γαλάνας* the imagination or presumption of a wind-

ἀκασκαῖον †ἄγαλμα πλούτου, 740  
 μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος,  
 δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος,  
 παρακλῖνας' ἐπέκρανευ  
 δὲ γάμον πικροῦ τελευτάς,  
 δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος 745  
 συμμένα Πριαμίδαισιν  
 πομπῇ Διὸς ξείνιου,  
 νυμφόκλαυτος Ἑρινύς.  
 παλαίφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος ἀντ. γ.  
 τέτυκται, μέγαν τελεσθέντα φωτὸς ὄλβον 750  
 τεκνοῦσθαι μὴδ' ἄπαιδα θνήσκευν,  
 ἐκ δ' ἀγαθᾶς τύχας γένει  
 βλαστάνειν ἀκόρεστον οἰζύν.  
 δίχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰ-  
 μί' τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον 755  
 μετὰ μὲν πλείονα τίκτει,  
 σφετέρᾳ δ' εἰκότα γέννᾳ.  
 οἰκῶν γὰρ εὐθυδίκων  
 καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεὶ.  
 φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις μὲν παλαιὰ νεά- στρ. δ' 760  
 ζουσιν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν  
 ὕβριν τότε' ἢ τόθ', ὅτε τὸ κύριον μόλῃ

755 γὰρ δυσσεβὲς.

762. ὅταν.

less calm, i.e. 'what was presumed a secure enjoyment'. This seems to be the meaning (rather than that the spirit (?) of Helen was like a windless calm) φρόνημα is to be understood as qualifying the whole description in *vv.* 739—742; hence the position of *μὲν*. For the sense of φρόνημα, 'proud' thought', 'presumptuous imagination', see L. and Sc. s.v.

740. ἀκασκαῖον † Hermann (sec. v. 751) may be right, though the conjunction is not desirable. Nothing can be

determined without more certainty as to the meaning and use of ἀκασκαῖος. The MS. points rather to ἀκασκαῖων—ἀκασκα' ἡσυχως, μαλακῶς, βραδέως Hesychius—The accumulation here of terms in apposition admits in English only a paraphrase.

743 ἐπέκρανευ, 'accomplished', marks what happened in the result.—She made such end to the marriage that it cost them dear. πικρὸς is suggested by *f* as a correction, but πικροῦ as a proleptic epithet expresses the same thing. For the use

shot that soft bolt, which pricks from the heart the flower of love. But swerving from that, she made them repent in the end that she was won, blasting with her companionship the ruined house of Priam's sons, whither the god of guest-plight sped and conducted her, a fiend to wed and to rue.

It is an ancient maxim, made long ago among men, that wealth of man, grown big, gets offspring of its body before it die, and that of good fortune the natural scion is unappeasable woe. But I think not with the generality. It is in truth the impious deed, which after begetteth more, and like to its own kind. The house that keepeth righteousness, fair is the generation thereof for ever. But it is the way of old pride to beget in the wicked, soon or late, when the destined hour arrives for the youthful birth, a young pride, and the kindred spirit (?) of inso-

of πικρός see Eur. *Med.* 398 πικροὺς δ' ἐγὼ σφιν καὶ λυγροὺς θήσω γάμου, *Bacch.* 357, *Supp.* 832 etc.

745. δυσέδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος an ill companion in the ruined home, a poetic exaggeration of language such as might apply to an ill-assorted union; the conception of Helen as a bride wedded to Troy is pursued throughout

747. πομπῇ, still a bridal term, the *πομπή* or religious procession which brought the wife to her new home.

748. νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς a fiend to wed and to rue. νυμφόκλαυτος: literally 'bewept as a wife', i.e. one whose wedding costs tears of repentance. Some render νυμφόκλαυτος 'bewailed by brides', i.e. causing the Trojan women to weep. But see the preceding context.—'Eine Thranenbraut' Wecklein, rightly

749. "Aeschylus is rejecting the old Greek superstition that Prosperity or Wealth brings woe; it is not wealth, he says, but always Sin" (Sidgwick). This later doctrine had also been embodied in a proverb older than Aeschylus. See on v. 760

750. μέγαν τελειθέντα when it comes to its full growth, adultum. See v. 370.

751. τεκνοῦσθαι metaphorically; the 'child' is calamity; see next verses.

752. γένει by kind, according to nature

754. μονόφρων alone in my way of thinking

755. τὸ δυσσεβεῖς γὰρ Pauw, on metrical grounds, see v. 744

756. μετὰ afterwards.

759. καλλίπαις πότμος combines in one phrase the ideas that the prosperity of the house is reproduced in successive generations, and that this prosperity is itself the child of righteousness, as misery is of sin.

760. φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις ὕβριν. Similar language with slight variations occurs in an ancient oracle cited by Herodotus (8. 77), in Pindar (*Ol.* 13. 9), and elsewhere in Aeschylus (*Eum.* 536); it was evidently consecrated by religious tradition. For some remarks upon the origin of it see *Seven against Thebes*, Appendix II. p. 142.

762. τότε ἢ τότε at this time or that, i.e. sooner or later.—ἔτε μὲν archaic and poetical construction, for which the MS. has substituted the regular ἔταν, added originally as an explanatory note (Klausen).

†νεαρά φάους κότον, δαίμονά τε τὸν ἄμαχον, ἀπό-  
λεμον,

ἀνίερων θράσος, μελαί-  
νας μελάθροισιν ἄτας, 765  
εἰδομέναν τοκεῦσιν.†

δίκα δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν δυσκάπνοις δώμασιν, ἀντ. δ.  
τὸν δ' ἐναΐσιμον τίει.

τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἔδεθλα σὺν πίνῃ χερῶν  
παλιντρόποις ὄμμασι λιποῦσ' ὅσια προσέβατο, 770  
δύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλού-

του παράσημον αἶνψ·

πᾶν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμῆ.

— ἄγε δῆ, βασιλεῦ, Τροίας πολίπορθ',  
'Ατρείως γένεθλον,

πῶς σε προσείπω; πῶς σε σεβίζω

μήθ' ὑπεράρας μήθ' ὑποκάμψας

καιρὸν χάριτος;

πολλοὶ δὲ βροτῶν τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι

προτίουσι δίκην παραβάντες.

τῷ δυσπραγοῦντι δ' ἐπιστενάχειν

πᾶς τις ἔτοιμος· δεῖγμα δὲ λύπης

768. τλει βλον.

769. ἐσθλά.

770. προσέβα τοῦ.

776. σεβίζω.

763—766. Injured, and not to be restored with any certainty. The general sense is that *θεῖος* (the parent) gives birth to *θεῖος* (the child) and also to *θράσος*, an offspring like the progenitors.—In v. 763 something extraneous has been incorporated with the text: I translate the readings (1) *ὅτε τὸ κύριον μόλη νεαρά φάους*, when the young one (the young *θεῖος*) comes to the appointed hour of light (τὸ κύριον φάους), i.e. of birth, and (2) *δαίμονα τ' ἔταν* (*ἐτάν* Wecklein) and a kindred spirit. In vv. 764—766 either the plural *εἰδομένας*, or else the dual throughout *μελαίνα...ἄτα· εἰδομένα*, seems correct,

the second better (Donaldson) For a great number of suggestions see Wecklein's Appendix.

768. τὸν ἐναΐσιμον the virtuous man.—*βλον* (omitted by Ahrens) is a mistaken completion

769. *ἐδεθλα* *abodes*, Auratus. The MS error is due to the omission of repeated letters in *δεδεθλα*; hence *εθλα*, corrected to *ἐσθλά*.

770. *δοῖα προσέβατο*, supply *ἐδεθλα· she goes to the holy* (gnomic aorist).—I see no reason to doubt that it is this aorist *προσέβατο* which appears, slightly concealed, in the MS., part being read

lence, godless, resistless, masterless, black curses both to the mansion and like their parents both.

But righteousness shineth in sooty dwellings, and prizeth the modest man. If the palace is guilt but foul the hands, with eyes averted she goes thence to the pure home, disdaining the might of wealth mis-stamped with praise. And she guideth all to the goal.

[Enter AGAMEMNON and CASSANDRA, a multitude following.]

See now, O sovereign, Troy's conqueror, Atreus' son, how shall I address thee? How pay thee homage neither above nor short of due complaisance?

Many rate semblance above reality, and do injustice so. Sighs for the suffering all have ready, although of the outward

as the usual form *προσέβα*, and the termination corrected into the appearance of a possessive genitive. For analogous forms compare *ἔφην—ἑφάμην, ἔφθην—φθάμενος, ἔπτην—ἐπτάμην, ἔκταν—ἐκτατο*, etc. Some of these aorists actually extant are extremely rare (*φθάμενος* for instance); so are other analogous forms from the stem *βα-* itself (e.g. *ὑπέρβασαν* for *ὑπερέβησαν* II. 12. 469); and it is probably the merest accident that the small fraction of archaic Greek literature now remaining does not, if it does not, exhibit any example but this of the middle form *ἑβάμην*, which must, it would seem, have been at the command of any archaistic writer who chose to employ it. The corrections proposed here, *προσέμολε* Hermann, *προσέεστο* Ahrens, etc., do not account for the MS. reading. If we suppose an explanatory gloss, the author of a gloss would naturally have used the common vocabulary (e.g. *προσῆλθε*) not a poetic word like *προσέβα*. The presumption in favour of the existence of the 'middle' aorist may be measured by considering how very few would venture to say, without consulting books, whether it is extant or not.

772. *παράσχημον αἶψα mis-stamped with praise*, like a forged coin bearing an untrue mark of value.

774—800. Agamemnon enters in a

chariot, followed by Cassandra, also in a chariot, attended by his soldiers, and surrounded by an applauding crowd. The elders are only too well aware that this apparently unanimous enthusiasm is by many pretended, and their first thought is to suggest suspicion and apprise the king that he is being deceived. See the Introduction.

776. *σεβίζω: σεβίζω f*, Doric aorist subj., here impossible. But the fact that such an unfamiliar form was regarded as possible and not at once corrected is perhaps some evidence that Aeschylus did occasionally employ it. See on v. 686.

777. *ὑπεράρας* 'over-aiming', a metaphor from the raised bow, *ὑποκάμψας* 'turning short of', from the chariot race.

780. *προτόλυνσι τοῦ εἶναι*, 'value above (reality)', supplied from *τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι the appearance of reality*. The πολλοὶ who like to be deceived are contrasted with the ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων. Not 'many prefer to deceive'. The elders, who are expecting recognition as the 'faithful found', are vexed by the flattering demonstration going on around them; but they rely, they say, on the fairness (δική) and judgment of the king to acknowledge his true friends and detect imposture. See on v. 785.

782. *δείγμα δὲ κτλ. when the display*



οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἧπαρ προσικνεῖται·  
καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς  
ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι. 785  
ὅστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων,  
οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτός,  
τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὐφρονος ἐκ διανοίας,  
ὑδαρεῖ σαίνειν φιλότῃ.  
σὺ δέ μοι τότε μὲν στέλλων στρατιὰν 790  
Ἑλένης ἔνεκ' (οὐ γὰρ ἐπικεύσω†)  
κάρτ' ἀπομούσως ἦσθα γεγραμμένος  
οὐδ' εὖ πραπίδων οἶακα νέμων,  
θάρσος ἐκούσιον  
ἀνδράσι θυήσκουσι κομίζων. 795

794. θράσος.

of grief reaches not at all to the heart  
δείγμα λύπης, i.e. 'the grief displayed',  
the Greek and English idioms coinciding.  
For δέκνυμι in the sense of *ostentation*  
see L. and Sc. s.v., and for οὐδέν as an  
emphatic negative, *ib. s.v. οὐδείς*.—**δῆγμα**  
Stobaeus and (presumably by conjecture)  
*Cod. Farn.* The motive of the change  
may have been to give οὐδέν its common  
adjectival sense, 'no sting of grief'. But  
δῆγμα spoils the sense. The point is not  
that the grief does not wound, but that  
there is no grief at all.—For a defence of  
δῆγμα λύπης as a 'periphrasis for λύπη'  
see Dr Headlam, *On editing Aeschylus*  
p. 102.

784. καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν (τῷ χαίρουσι)  
ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς and they copy the looks of  
him that is glad. χαίρειν (see on v. 723)  
refers originally to the look, not to the  
feeling, of happiness.—It is debated  
whether ξυγχαίρουσιν is finite verb or  
dative participle depending on ὁμοιοπρε-  
πεῖς 'seeming like sympathizers'. If it  
is the participle, the verb must have  
been contained in the line which may be  
lost after v. 785. The objection to this  
is that τῷ δυσπραγοῦντι κτλ. raises ex-

pectation of an antithetic καὶ τῷ χαίρουσι  
ξυγχαίρουσιν, so that ξυγχαίρουσιν, when  
heard, would naturally be understood  
as a verb.—See however Dr Headlam,  
*Class. Rev.* XIV 116 and XVII. 244.

785. βιαζόμενοι | ὅστις. The break  
is contrary to the rule of this metre. If  
it is not an oversight, we may suppose  
either (with Hermann) that something is  
lost, or that some interval (perhaps a  
change of voices) protected the hiatus.  
There is at any rate a strong break in  
the sense; ὅστις δὲ κτλ. is antithetic  
not to what immediately precedes, but to  
v. 779—780; see note there. It is  
possible that the hiatus was made de-  
liberately in order to mark this.

786. προβατογνώμων: one who, like  
a good heidsman, 'knows the points', as  
it were, of men. Probably some particular  
deceptive symptom in the animal suggests  
the ὑδαρῆς φιλότῃ.

787. οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν it cannot es-  
cape (him). The object of λαθεῖν is τοῦ-  
τον, supplied from the relative clause.—  
ὄμματα φωτός: the human eyes (φωτός  
antithetic to προβατο-) of hypocrites who  
pretend to weep tears of sympathetic joy

grief none touches the heart; and they copy the looks of him that laughs, putting force upon faces where no smile is. But he that knoweth the points of a man is sure to detect, when the human eyes, which pretend to glisten with kindness, are flattering him with a love that is but water.

Thou in past time, while warring still for Helen's sake, (frankly be it said) didst make an ungracious figure in mine eyes, didst seem an undexterous steersman to thy wits, that thou for a willing wanton wouldst spend the lives of men. But

or sorrow—*ἔμματα . φιλόττη*. This whole substantival clause is the subject of *λαθεῖν*; 'the man of judgment will detect that those eyes, which pretend (to glisten) with kind feeling, are flattering him with a love that is but water', when such is really the case. The word *σαίνειν*, in relation to the expression of the eye, signifies merely the look of kindness (Soph. *O. C.* 319), though it easily takes the sense of flattery. Here it is to be supplied with *τὰ δοκούντα* from the main verb of the sentence.—If *σαίνει* (Casaubon) be read, *τὰ* becomes relative and nominative, the subject of *σαίνει*, the infinitive being supplied with *δοκούντα* as before.

790. *τότε before*, i.e. during the continuance of the war, *στέλλων στρατιάν*.

791. Perhaps *οὐ γὰρ ἔπη κεύσω* for *I will speak out* (*what I am thinking*), literally 'will not suppress speech'. The singular (*κέυθην ἔπος*) is common in Homer, see L. and Sc. *s. v.* *κέυθω*, *ἐπικεύθω*.—Or *οὐκ ἐπικεύσω* (Hermann) absolutely, *I will make no concealment*, also Homeric.

792. *Thou hadst no pleasing figure to my eyes*, 'wast in my view pictured unpleasingly'.

793. *I.e.* as not showing a full command of your judgment.

794—95 *ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι κομίζων* 'in spending the lives of men to recover (Helen)'. For *κομίζων* in this connexion see Eur. *Iph. A.* 770 *χάλασπις Ἄρης Ἑλέναν ἐκ Πριάμου κομίσαι θέλων ἐς γὰρ Ἑλλάδα*, id. *Or.* 1614 (Menelaus speaks)

*ὦ πλῆμον Ἑλένη...σέ σφάγιον ἐκόμισ'* ἐκ Φρυγῶν, and for numerous examples L. and Sc. *s. v.*—*ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι*: instrumental dative, as with words signifying purchase, literally 'with dying men'. The complaint here is the same as in *v.* 455 foll.—*θάρος ἐκούσιον* (*θάρος Cod. Farn.*) should not be hastily condemned. What the context requires is some description of Helen such as to mark the folly of spending lives to win her back (Weil, cf. *v.* 62). Now *ἐκούσιον consenting* is to the point and may be illustrated by Eur. *El.* 1065 *ἡ μὲν γὰρ (Helen) ἀρπασθεῖς ἐκοῦσ' ἀπώχετο*, and id. *Tr.* 370, which paraphrases and expands *ἐκούσιον* here, *ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς (Agamemnon) ὁ σοφὸς ἐχθίστων ὑπερ | τὰ φίλτατ' ὤλεσ'*, *ἡδονὰς τὰς αἰκοθεν | τέκνων ἀδελφῶ δοῦς γυναῖκος οὐνεκα, | καὶ ταῦθ' ἐκούσης κοῦ βίβ' ἀλεησμένης*: a woman who surrendered herself to the seducer was not worth recovery at all, much less at such a cost. Nor is *θάρος* difficult in itself. Like *μῖσος* and *σῦγος*, so *θάρος* or *θράσος* is used in a personal sense (e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 261 *ὦ βάμβαρρον σὺ θρέμμα καὶ σκληρὸν θράσος*), and it is common as a synonym of *ἀναλβεια*. The form *θράσος* is more frequent in this sense (in fact seldom has any other, which accounts for the reading of *f* here), but *θάρος* is used so also. There is no reason therefore why *θάρος* here should not mean *a woman*, that is Helen herself. The question, then is whether *θάρος* in this particular sense was sufficiently established in popular

νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως.  
 εὐφρων πόνος εὖ τελέσασιν.  
 γνώσει δὲ χρόνῳ διαπενθόμενος  
 τόν τε δικαίως καὶ τὸν ἀκαίρως  
 πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα πολιτῶν.

800

## ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

πρῶτον μὲν Ἄργος καὶ θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους  
 δίκη προσειπεῖν, τοὺς ἐμοὶ μεταίτιους  
 νόστου δικαίων θ' ὦν ἐπραξάμην πόλιν  
 Πριάμου· δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ  
 κλύοντες ἀνδροθνήτας, Ἰλίου φθοράς,  
 ἐς αἵματηρόν τευχος οὐ διχορρόπως  
 ψήφους ἔθεντο· τῷ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει  
 ἑλπίς προσήει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένῃ.  
 καπνῷ δ' ἀλούσα νῦν ἔτ' εὐσημος πόλις.  
 ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι· συνθνήσκουσα δὲ

805

810

use to make *θάρος ἐκούσιον* intelligible, with this context, in the sense *a consenting wanton*. The text is some evidence for the affirmative, and the parallel passages from Euripides above cited suggest that such language, applied to the case of Helen, was a traditional commonplace. See further, in support of this view, Di Headlam, *Class. Rev.* xiv. 116.—What the elders have in their minds is the recent (and in truth unappeased) indignation of the people for the loss of life in the war.

796. νῦν δ' ἀφίλως. But now our *perceiving* of thee is not (thus) superficial and unkind. The verb is γεγραμμένος εἰ 'thou art represented', or something to the same effect, supplied from the antithetic clause τότε· ἦσθα γεγραμμένος. 'Now that the suffering is over and the end won, we can revise our hasty judgment and make fair allowance'.—ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς literally 'with the surface (only) of the mind'. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 242 οὐ γὰρ ἄκρας καρδίας ἐφανσέ μου 'it made a more than superficial (deep) impression on

me'. The term ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς is taken or imitated, like ἀπομούσῳ, from the vocabulary of criticism.

797. εὐφρων τελέσασιν *men think happily of their sufferings, when they have won success*, literally 'a toil is happy in the view of those who have well accomplished it'. Probably a proverb for the favourite play on εὖ see on v. 557.—This is commonly joined as one sentence to v. 796, but it is almost universally admitted (see conjectures in Wecklein's Appendix) that so taken it gives no satisfactory sense.

801—845. Agamemnon's speech has two divisions: (1) 801—820 Salutation to the gods and thanks (not very becomingly expressed) for his victory, (2) his answer to the hints of the elders; he is on his guard and intends to treat all according to their deserts. In the first part, notwithstanding the proud tone, there is a hint of exculpation in reference to the destruction of Troy; he insists upon the share of *the gods* in the work and the

now we figure thee with deeper judgment and less unkind. Happy the labour that is happily done. Thou wilt learn by inquisition hereafter, who here at home hath done his duty, and who hath mis-spent the time.

*Agamemnon* To Argos first my salutation is due, and to the gods that inhabit here, who have aided me to my home-coming and the justice which I have taken of Priam's town. For they, having heard the mortal argument which with main force we pleaded for Troy's destroying, put their votes undivided into the vase for blood, while to the opposite urn hope of the hand came nigh, yet it was not filled. By her smoke the conquered city is conspicuous even yet. Life in the ruin pants,

profits of vengeance. In the second part his selfish and imperious nature is fatally exhibited, when, with every motive to be complaisant, he takes occasion to make a bitter attack upon those to whom he owes his triumph. The whole harangue is haughty and repulsive.

802. *δίκη*: both *custom* and *justice*. —*τοὺς ἔμοι μεταίτιους* *who with me have contributed to etc.*, a strange form for the expression of religious gratitude.

803. *πόλιν*: the gods approved the destruction of the city. See v. 815.

804. *δικας οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης* *our cause argued not with the tongue*, but with the sword. Cf. *δικὴν εἰπεῖν* *to plead a cause*.

805. *ἀνδροθήτας* (*δικας*) *a mortal argument, i.e. one in which was demanded the penalty of death.*—*Ἰλίου φθοράς* *importing the destruction of Troy*, literally 'a destruction to Troy', in apposition to *δικας*, as *λαχὺς* to *πέπκη* in v. 299, and with the same adjectival force. The phrase translates the metaphor of *ἀνδροθήτας* into the literal fact.—*φθορὰς* (Dobree) gives the same sense, *a suit of (i.e. for) destruction*—The construction *φθορὰς ψήφους ἐθεντο* (*ἐψηφίσαντο*), 'they voted the destruction' (Paley), is embarrassed by the words *ἐς αἵματηρὸν τεῦχος*.

806. *αἵματηρὸν τεῦχος* *the bloody vessel*, that which was to receive votes for the penalty of death.

807 "But to the opposite urn hope of the hand came nigh, yet it was not filled, a quaint and fanciful but quite characteristic way of saying that the other urn expected votes but did not get them" (Sidgwick). *ἐλπίς* with emphasis, *hope only*, and no actual hand with a vote.—*Ἐλπίς προσέει χεῖρας*, 'Hope waved her hand before it' as if to put votes there (Margoliouth), is so close to the MS. that it must almost be called an alternative reading of it. But the associations of *σελεῖν*, *προσελεῖν* do not seem pertinent, and the common text is satisfactory.—The 'hope' refers to the long postponement of the capture by the dissensions of Olympus

809. A bitter jest; the city may boast itself 'conspicuous' still. *καπνώ* with *εὐσημος*.

810 *Life in the ruin pants, while from the expiring ash is breathed a reek of richness.* *ἄτης θύλλαι ἰῶσι*, literally 'in the ruin are living blasts': for *ἄτης* see v. 731. *θύελλα*, usually 'blast' of a storm, is used here as a sort of gigantic term for a 'gasp', the glowing heap being compared to a dying animal.—*συνθνήσκουσα σποδός*. When the ash is cold, the gasps of life will cease; with them therefore the ash is dying.—*πρίονας πλούτου πνοάς*. The chief symbol of Eastern wealth to a Greek mind was the costly perfume imported from Asia for



σποδὸς προπέμπει πίονας πλούτου πνοάς.  
 τούτων θεοῖσι χρή πολύμνηστον χάριν  
 τίνειν, ἐπείπερ καὶ ταγὰς ὑπερκότους  
 ἐπραξάμεσθα, καὶ γυναικὸς οὐνεκα  
 πόλιν διημάθυνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος, 815  
 ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδηστρόφος λεώς,  
 πήδημ' ὀρούσας ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν.  
 ὑπερβορῶν δὲ πύργον ὠμωστής λέων  
 ἄδην ἔλειξεν αἵματος τυραννικοῦ.  
 θεοὺς μὲν ἐξέτεινα φροῖμιον τόδε. 820  
 τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ σὸν φρόνημα, μέμνημαι κλύων.  
 καὶ φημὶ ταῦτ' αὖτε συνήγορόν μ' ἔχεις.  
 παύροις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἔστι συγγενὲς τόδε,  
 φίλον τὸν εὐτυχούντ' ἄνευ φθόνων σέβειν.

813. πάγας.

822. ταῦτα.

purposes of religion and luxury: this idea has coloured the picture here.—Hence the suggestion *θυγαῖς censures* (Hermann), but by this what is gained to the figure in consistency is lost in picturesque force.

812. *For all this there must be paid to the gods a memorable return, even as the fine is great, which our wrath hath taken* ταγὰς M. Schmidt. The form of the sentence, 'we should pay largely, since a great ( ) also we have exacted', demands some word signifying 'payment exacted'. ταγή (extant in other senses) is here an archaic synonym of ῥάξ, an 'assessment', or 'payment imposed', as by a victor upon the conquered, from ῥάσσειν 'to prescribe'. The abstract nouns in -σις, answering to the aorist in -σα, steadily encroached in common use upon the abstracts in -η, corresponding to the strong aorist; but in the older language λαβή, λήχη etc. were used with the same freedom as in the later λήψις, λήξις etc. They were simply the abstract nouns answering to the verbs and admitted the same range of meaning.—

πάγας ..ἐπραξάμεσθα Hermann *we fumed a mare*.—ὑπερκότους Heath.

815. Ἀργεῖον δάκος: the 'foal of the horse' would not usually be described as δάκος, but the expression comes down from the time when the *Argive horse* inspired the strange terror depicted in the *Seven against Thebes* (see the Introduction to that play, § 2). The legends of the mares of Augias and Diomedes, which were fed on human flesh, is a similar testimony to the formidable renown of the horse of the north.

816. ἵππου νεοσσός may perhaps allude to the wooden horse and the soldiers who came out of its belly; but this does not well account for the description of the Argive people generally as 'the foal of the horse'. More probably both the *horse* here and the *lion* of v. 818 are emblematic animals, perhaps heraldic. The horse was certainly characteristic of Argos, and according to the Argive legends was created there by Poseidon. The lion on the other hand would belong rather (as witness the gates)



and from the expiring ash is breathed a reek of richness. For all this there must be paid to the gods a memorable return, even as the fine is great, which our wrath hath taken, since for one woman stolen a city hath been laid level by the fierce beast of Argos, the foal of the horse, the folk of the shield, that launched himself with a leap in the season of the Pleiads' fall. Over the wall he sprang and, like a lion fleshed, lapped his fill of proud princes' blood.

Now, having given to religion this ample precedence, I come to thee and thy feelings I remember what I have heard. I am with thee, and support thine accusation. Rare among men are they to whom it is natural to love and admire the fortunate

to Mycenae. Aeschylus has perhaps combined types belonging to different layers of legend. In Eur. *Supp.* 1223 the sons of *The Seven*, who under the name of the *Epigoni* avenged their fathers upon Thebes, are called *εκτεθραμμένοι σκύμνοι λεόντων*, but it does not appear whether this description is applied to them specially as *Argives*. See Paley's note.

16. *δοσιδηστροφός Λεύς*. On the shield of Argos and the Argives see *Theb.* 89 and the Introduction to that play p. xxii. The title points to a time when in metal work, especially armour, the Achaeans of the Argolid were much in advance of their neighbours.—For *-στροφός* (*twelders* of the shield) Wecklein refers to Soph. *Al.* 575 διὰ πολυρράφου στρέφων πόρπακος ἐπταβίου ἀρηκτον σάκος

817. ἀμφὶ Πλαϊάδων δόσιν i.e. in late autumn, early in November. "The time (Klausen observes) is mentioned which would best account for the storm before described, since between the setting and the rising of the Pleiads it was not the sailing season; see Theocr. 13. 25, and Hesiod. *Opp.* 617. Demosthenes (p. 1214) speaks of the tempests which usually followed the former event". Paley. See the Introduction—On the interpretation 'at midnight' see Appendix P.

819. αἵματος τυραννικοῦ: an ex-

pression significant to some of his hearers.

820. θεοῖς μὲν ἔχτεινα: 'so far my first word to the gods, which I have not scanted'. See v. 907.

821. τὰ φρόνημα but as to the matter of your own feelings (see vv. 776—800)—μνήμαι κλύων I remember what I have heard, that is, intimations of the disaffection at home which had reached him before his return and on his first landing. That he should have heard something would naturally be supposed, and is in fact required to account for his bearing. This allusion gives the key. (We need not suppose him to mean that he remembers what was said a few minutes ago.)

822. συνήγορόν μ' ἔχεις you have in me a supporter of your accusation, a *συνήγορον* in the narrower sense of the term (see L. and Sc s.v.). Not merely 'agreeing with you' What the elders have spoken is an accusation, not the less menacing because general, against their compatriots (see particularly vv. 798—800). The king declares himself on their side, determined to investigate and to punish (v. 839), and his threats do not fall to the ground.

824. φίλον: a predicate: φίλον σβειν to admire kindly.—φθόνων envious feelings, envy, inclination to envy. The plural φθόνοι makes a class-term 'what

δύσφρων γὰρ ἰὸς καρδίαν προσήμενος 825  
 ἄχθος διπλοῖζει τῷ πεπανένῳ νόσον,  
 τοῖς τ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πῆμασιν βαρύνεται  
 καὶ τὸν θυραῖον ὄλβον εἰσορῶν στένει.  
 εἰδὼς λέγοιμ' ἄν· εὖ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι 830  
 ὁμιλίας κάτοπτρον, εἰδῶλον σκιᾶς,  
 δοκοῦντας εἶναι κάρτα πρευμενεῖς ἐμοί.  
 μόνος δ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅσπερ οὐχ ἑκὼν ἔπλει,  
 ζευχθεῖς ἔτοιμος ἦν ἐμοὶ σειραφόρος·  
 εἴτ' οὖν θανόντος εἴτε καὶ ζῶντος πέρι 835  
 λέγω. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεοὺς  
 κοινοὺς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει  
 βουλευσόμεσθα. καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον  
 ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον·  
 ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων,  
 ἦτοι κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως 840  
 πειρασόμεθα πῆματος τρέψαι νόσον.  
 νῦν δ' ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους  
 ἔλθων θεοῖσι πρῶτα δεξιώσομαι,  
 οἷπερ πρόσω πέμψαντες ἤγαγον πάλιν.  
 νίκη δ' ἐπείπερ ἔσπετ', ἐμπέδως μένοι. 845

826. πεπαμμένω.

is like envy', as in Plato, *Philebus* 40 E  
 περὶ φθῶν καὶ θυμῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν  
 τοιούτων.—φθόνου ἢ, ψόγου Stobaeus

826. τῷ πεπαμμένῳ νόσον *him that has  
 aught amiss with him*. νόσον covers both  
 distress and vice.—πεπαμμένῳ Porson.

830. ὁμιλίας κάτοπτρον *the mirror of  
 friendship, i.e. the false friendship which  
 is to the genuine as the reflexion to the  
 reality, or, as he puts it with angry ex-  
 aggeration, as the reflexion of a shadow  
 to the shadow itself*.—δοκοῦντας: the  
 example (the pretended friends of Aga-  
 memnon) is put in apposition to the  
 general conception which it illustrates.—

All this, though ostensibly directed against  
 the absent, and in this aspect forcibly  
 exhibiting the character of the man, is full  
 of menace for those about him: δοκοῦντας  
 εἶναι refers expressly to v. 780.

832. ὅσπερ κτλ. If you would have  
 good service from men, you must ride  
 them hard. Such is the suggested moral.  
 —Odysseus was entrapped by Palamedes  
 into accompanying the expedition.

834. εἴτ' οὖν...λέγω λέγω is properly  
 a separate clause in itself; with εἴτ' οὖν ..  
 περὶ another λέγω is supplied; *that I  
 will say for him, living or dead*.—Another  
 unhappy remark. It is not the moment

without envying. The poison of ill-will settles to the heart and doubles the load of him that has aught amiss: at once his own sorrows press upon him, and he sighs to see the other's happiness. I may speak with knowledge, having learnt thoroughly that mirror of friendship, image of a shadow, the hypocrites' semblance of devotion to me. Odysseus only, Odysseus, who joined the fleet against his will, I found, being once in harness, mine own right horse. That I will say for him living or dead.

[Enter CLYTEMNESTRA.]

And for the rest, the affairs of state and of religion too in general assembly summoned together we will debate; where we must take such counsel that what is well may endure so and abide, while as for what must have medicinal remedy, we will do our kind endeavour with lancet or cautery to defeat the mischief of the sore.

For the moment, I go to mine house and private chambers, where my hand's first greeting must be to the gods, who sent me forth and have brought me back. May victory, as she hath attended me, constantly abide with me still!

to remind the people, especially without a word of sympathy, that after all the losses of the war most of the returning army has probably perished at sea.

836. ἀγῶνας: ἀγοράς, meetings.

839. ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δαῖ. ὅτῳ is neuter, *what must have remedy*, answering to τὸ καλῶς ἔχον. What 'kind lancet or cautery' may be needed, to remove the peccant humours of the body politic, will not be spared. With εὐφρόνως compare Antony's ironical question to the murderers of Caesar, 'Who else must be let blood, who else is rank?'

841 πῆματος τρέφει νόσον to defeat the mischief of the sore, or (as Porson) πῆμ' ἀποστρέφει νόσον to avert the harm of the ailment. The Ms. reading is not impossible. νόσον πῆματος the ailment or mischief of the sore. For πῆμα see Soph. *At.* 582 τομῶν πῆμα, a tumour that 'craves the knife'. The metaphor, as the previous line shows, is from surgery not from medicine. τρέφει to defeat (see

τροπή) is a metaphor within a metaphor, falling back in the direction of the literal. When the king speaks of 'lancing or cauterizing' the state, what he really means is that with the support of his friends he will 'defeat' his enemies and theirs. It is natural therefore that the word *defeat* should come into his mind.

843 points to the 'lustration' and Clytemnestra's bath

845. Significant again. He is aware that ἐρ' εἰς ἀγῶνας, that he has still enemies to encounter at home.—The last part of the speech is vividly dramatic. All the auditors are agreed that τὸ καλῶς ἔχον ὅπως χρονίζον εὐ μενεῖ βουλευτόν (cf. *v.* 362), and on the necessity of 'surgery' for the good of the state, only there is a difference of opinion as to the sense of these expressions. The king speaks as he does because, not having a glimpse of the plot, he believes himself irresistible and gives the rein to his indignation.

ΚΛ. ἄνδρες πολῖται, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,  
οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τοὺς φιλόνορας τρόπους  
λέξαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐν χρόνῳ δ' ἀποφθίνει  
τὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώποισιν. οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα  
μαθοῦς' ἐμαντῆς δύσφορον λέξω βίον 850  
τοσόνδ' ὅσον περ οὗτος ἦν ὑπ' Ἰλίου.  
τὸ μὲν γυναιῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσενος δίχα  
ἦσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἔκπαγλον κακόν,  
πολλὰς κλύουσιν ἡδονὰς παλιγκότους...  
καὶ τὸν μὲν ἦκειν τὸν δ' ἐπεισφέρειν κακοῦ 855  
κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα λάσκοντας δόμοις.  
καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτύγχανεν  
ἀνὴρ ὅδ', ὡς πρὸς οἶκον ὠχετεύετο  
φάτις, τέτρηται δικτύου πλέω λέγειν·  
εἰ δ' ἦν τεβηκῶς, ὡς ἐπλήθυνον λόγοι, 860  
τρισώματός τ' αὖ Γηρυὼν ὁ δεύτερος  
πολλὴν—ἄνωθεν, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω—

859. φάσις (?) τέτρωται.

846. As the king makes to enter, the queen attended by her women (v. 899) comes from the palace. Her address, like her message by the herald, is a self-defence, better prepared but not more successful. The very depth of her respect (she says) prevents her from addressing the king, so she turns to the assembly and principally to the elders, with whom long association has made her familiar.

849. οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα μαθοῦσα 'my own witness to my conduct will not be hearsay, such as that by which I am perhaps accused'.

852. ἄρσενος ἔρημον alone without the man fill the throne of the house (cf. v. 271) bearing the weight of the sole responsibility. See also next note.

854. Hearing many persistent flatteries, i.e. besieged by tempters. ἡδονὰς δούρειας, compliments, πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγόμενα, 'what is spoken to please'. Herodotus (7. 101 κότερα ἀληθῆτι χρησσομαι ἢ ἡδονῇ;

shall I use frankness or flattery?) has the word in a sense nearly approaching this. It properly meant *sweetness, agreeableness* or *something agreeable* like the French equivalent. παλιγκότους: unwelcome but irrepressible.—Clytemnestra just glances at the firmness of her virtue. Then, feeling the peril of the subject, she passes rapidly to another, and presently (v. 865) contrives to bring in her words again with a slight but transfiguring change, as if it were κληδόνας, and not really ἡδονὰς at all, which she had said, precisely as in v. 866 she twists to a new meaning the words of v. 862. In both places the explanation is the same. At this last fearful crisis she really is afraid of her own words and unable for some minutes to steady her mind—κληδόνας Auratus. Others more plausibly omit the verse

855. While one comes after another brought to the house loud tidings of war

— *Clytemnestra*. Townsman of Argos, her noblest present here, what love I have practised toward my husband, my modesty will let me declare to *you*. With time men lose their fear.

Upon no witness but mine own I can say, how weary were my days all the long while my lord lay before Ilium. A sore grief it is in itself, for a woman without a man to sit in the empty throne of the house, with ever persistent flatteries at her ear, ...and one coming after another with loud tidings of woe to the house each worse than the last. As for wounds, if my lord was wounded as often as the conduits of fame brought news of it, he hath holes in him more in number than a net. And had he died, as report thereof multiplied, he might, with three bodies like another Geryon, have boasted many times three—not beds,

*each worse than the last.* τὸν μὲν ἤκειν τὸν δ' ἐπισφάινειν. See *vv.* 360 and 375 for this separation into an explicit antithesis of what in English would be presented as one compound notion. Literally it is 'that one should be arrived and another bring in addition', i.e. 'that the arriving of one (messenger) should be followed by the bringing' etc. Our habit would expect (see Paley) τὸν μὲν ἤκειν φέροντα κακόν, τὸν δὲ κάκιον ἄλλο ἐπισφάινειν.—ἐπισφάινειν Wecklein, i.e. 'that each new crier of disastrous news *should* be let in by his predecessor, so quickly they followed' (see εἰσφέρειν), is forcible, and would probably appear in our *MS.* as ἐπισφάινειν. But is it not more natural that τὸν μὲν should be the *first* comer, τὸν δὲ the *second*?

858. ὥχτηκετο. rumour 'came in by channels'.

859. τέτρηται Ahrens (see *τελρω*, *τρήμα*). A net has 'holes' but not 'wounds'.—πλέω λίγειν 'more to count' i.e. *en number*.—"The cold-blooded phrase suits Clytemnestra" and is the more horrible as suggesting a vision of the sequel.

860. ἐπλήθυνον Porson, as the regular form. But see *θαρούνω*

860—64. He might have boasted many times as many bunals as a three-bodied Geryon, who died once in each shape. For 'burial' she uses the phrase 'to

cloak oneself in earth', γῆν ἐπιέσσεσθαι Theogn. 429, Homer *Il.* 3. 57.—(ἀνωθεν, τῇν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λίγω) meaning *the coverlet merely, I say nothing of the bed.* ἡ κάτω χλαῖνα, in relation to the figure of burial, would be the earth *on* which the dead lay, as opposed to the earth laid upon him (Wecklein compares *Theb.* 931 ὑπὸ δὲ σώματι γὰρ πλοῦτος ἀβυσσος ἔσται). "The confused expression marks the disturbance in Clytemnestra's thoughts". Her tongue trips, or rather the pressure of her secret makes her fear that it has tripped, and in trying to safeguard herself she makes the matter worse. The mention of the 'net', of the 'wounds' and 'burial', is to her so frightfully significant that she doubts for a moment, without reason but naturally, whether it will not raise suspicion in others. She therefore tries to disarm the reference to burial, 'when I say mantle of earth, I mean just *mantle* upon him; I could not think of his last *bed*'. This is nonsense, but perhaps none the worse for that. In the same spirit immediately afterwards (*v.* 866) she makes upon this πολλὴν ἄνωθεν a sort of forced and far-fetched play. Even Clytemnestra for a moment is nervous and not mistress of her speech.—τῇν κατωγαίου λέχους Tucker, *Class. Rev.* XI. p. 404.



χθονός, τρίμοιρον χλαῖναν ἐξηύχει λαβών,  
 ἅπαξ ἑκάστω καθθανὼν μορφώματι.  
 τοίωνδ' ἑκατι κληδόνων παλιγκότων 865  
 πολλὰς ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνας ἐμῆς δέρης  
 ἔλυσαν ἄλλοι πρὸς βίαν λελημμένης.  
 ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐκ τοῖς παῖς ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεῖ,  
 ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν κύριος πιστευμάτων,  
 ὡς χρῆν, Ὀρέστης· μηδὲ θαυμάσης τόδε. 870  
 τρέφει γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐμενῆς δορυξένος  
 Στρόφιος ὁ Φωκεύς, ἀμφίλεκτα πῆματα  
 ἐμοὶ προφωνῶν, τὸν θ' ὑπ' Ἰλῖω σέθεν  
 κίνδυνον, εἴ τε δημόθρους ἀναρχία  
 βουλὴν καταρρίψιεν, ὥστε σύγγονον 875  
 βροτοῖσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλεόν.  
 τοιάδε μέντοι σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει.

867. λελημμένης.

863. ἐξηύχει λαβών. 'he might have boasted a triple mantle of earth *assumed*'. λαβών literally 'having taken it on him'. —λαβεῖν Paley.

865. παλιγκότων *persistent*. See on *vv.* 576, 854.

866. πολλὰς ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνας *many a hanging noose*. ἀρτάνη properly 'thing suspending', 'that by which something is hung (ἡρτηται)', like other quasi-verbal nouns can take an adverb construed with the implied verbal notion: ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνη literally 'a thing which hangs up'. But the expression is cumbersome, and due only to the artificial parallel with πολλὰς ἄνωθεν: see on *v.* 862.—δέρης 'from my neck', ἔλυσαν taking the construction of ἀπέλυσαν.

867. πρὸς βίαν λελημμένης (ἐμοῦ), *rivalling my eagerness, i.e. my desperate desire to die*, literally 'in despite of me eager'. (Ahrens, Blomfield.) Cf. *Theb.* 367 μάχης λελημένος, and λίσσομαι. In *Theb.* 342 λελημένοις is written for λελημένοις.—Of two proposed renderings for

πρὸς βίαν λελημμένης, (1), supplying ἐμοῦ, 'of me violently seized (by them)' would require "ληφθείσης the act, not λελημμένης the state" (S.), and (2), supplying δέρης, 'my neck, caught violently in the noose', gives λαβεῖν a forced meaning.

868. The manner in which Clytemnestra uses this circumstance, the absence of her son Orestes, is skilful. Here at least, she says, there can be no doubt of her honesty (τοιάδε σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει) if she had been disloyal to the king, she would never have sent his heir out of her control. The argument is sound; the flaw is in the assumed facts, as to which she trusts that the king is not yet informed. The true facts about Orestes, as supposed by Aeschylus, have to be gathered from indications, for us slight and obscure, in the *Choephori*; see the Introduction to that play pp. xiv foll.

869. ἐμῶν πιστευμάτων *who should best make confidence between me and thee*. Κύριος followed by a genitive signifies 'having power over', or 'qualified in' the

but coverlets rather of earth taken on to him, if he had had one death for each of his shapes. Such, ever present at mine ear, were the rumours that put me many times to the hanging noose, which others, preventing my eagerness, loosened from my neck.

This is indeed why the boy Orestes, he who might best make confidence between thee and me, is not, as he should be, here; be not surprised. He is in the special care of our ally, Strophius of Phocis, who warned me of double mischief, the danger first of thee before Ilium, and the chance that noisy rebellion from below might risk a plot against us, as it is native to man to spurn the more him that is down. The excuse however is such as cannot have guile in it.

matter described. See L. and Sc. s. v. Thus κύριος πιστευμάτων is literally 'qualified in the matter of confidence', 'powerful over confidence', where πιστευμα confidence is the abstract from πιστεύειν to trust.—πιστωμάτων pledges Spanheim, Hermann. Orestes was himself a πιστωμα between his parents, but being a πιστωμα he was κύριος πιστευμάτων. The proper meaning of κύριος πιστωμάτων would be 'qualified to give a pledge', 'qualified to deal with a pledge', or the like.

871. αὐτόν: perhaps an example of this pronoun used without emphasis, which in Aeschylus is rare. But an emphasis is possible 'he is under the special (separate) care'.

872. ἀμφόλικτα...προφωνῶν suggesting to me future trouble in two shapes. ἀμφόλικτα properly 'divided into two counts' in the sense of 'heads' or 'divisions' in a subject, as in the technical phrase 'counts of an indictment'. (So also Wecklein.)

873. τὸν τε...ἔ τε. These are two dangers, not parts of the same: (1) Agamemnon might die at Troy, in which case his youthful heir would need protection; (2) his mere absence and the weakness of the regency might encourage the unruly 'to risk a plot'. To the last enterprise especially the impossibility of

seizing the heir would be a discouragement.

875. βουλὴν καταρρίψειεν should hazard a plot against (κατά) me; Blomfield. Cf. ῥίπτειν κίνδυνον, a metaphor from the throwing of dice, ῥίπτειν κύβευμα. For βουλή, cf. Andocides 9. 4 διὰ ταῦτα εἶπον τῇ βουλῇ (I told the council) ὅτι εἰδένην τὺς ποιήσοντας, καὶ ἐξήλεξα τὰ γενόμενα, ὅτι εἰσηγγέσαστο μὲν πικρότων ἡμῶν ταύτην τὴν βουλὴν (proposed this plot) Εὐφίλῆτος, ἀντίειπον δὲ ἐγὼ κτλ., a passage which shows that this sense was not affected by the technical use of ἡ βουλή at Athens. ῥίψαι βουλὴν for ῥίψαι κίνδυνον βουλῆς is an extension of the 'inner' or cognate accusative.—Others translate 'should throw down the council', i.e. overthrow the government of the queen and her advisers, but (1) βουλή without explanation could not bear this technical meaning; (2) the play does not give the explanation, nor suppose a formal Council of regency; the elders never speak of themselves as such; (3) we should expect rather καταλθεῖαι or possibly καταβαλεῖν.—βουλὴν καταρρίψειεν Scaliger, 'should devise a plot'.—ὥστι: ὡς, as indeed.

877. μόντοι however; 'though his presence would be our best assurance, the explanation of his absence is transparently honest and an assurance in itself'.

ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαυμάτων ἐπίσσυτοι  
 πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν, οὐδ' ἔνι σταγών.  
 ἐν ὀψικοίτοις δ' ὄμμασιν κλάβας† ἔχω, 880  
 τὰς ἀμφί σοι κλαίουσα λαμπτηρουχίας  
 ἀτημελήτους αἰέν. ἐν δ' ὀνείρασιν  
 λεπταῖς ὑπαὶ κώνωπος ἐξηγειρόμην  
 ῥιπαῖσι θούσسونτος, ἀμφί σοι πάθη 885  
 ὀρώσα πλείω τοῦ ξυνεύδοντος χρόνου.  
 νῦν ταῦτα πάντα τλᾶσ', ἀπενθήτῃ φρενί,  
 λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,  
 σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης  
 στῆλον ποδῆρην, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρί,  
 καὶ γῆν φανείσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἑλπίδα, 890  
 κάλλιστον ἡμάρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος,  
 ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ρέος—  
 τερπνὸν δὲ τἀναγκαῖον ἐκφυγῆν ἅπαν·

889 σόλων.

878. μὲν δὴ dismissing irrelevancies and coming to the gist of the matter.

880. **κλάβας** Trichinus (*Cod. Furn.*) obviously and perhaps rightly, but **κλάβας** *eye-sores* cannot be disproved. The representation of the *ϛ* by *β* is in the Doric and Aeolic dialects frequent and regular (**φάβος**=**φάρος**, **ῶβρα**=**ῶφρα** *φά* etc.). From **κλαῖν** (cf. **κλαῖμα**) a regular formation in these dialects would be **κλάβ-α**. The language of poetry often preserves dialectic forms, because the words came into literature from a dialectic source. A similar instance is **νεβρός**, commonly referred to the root (*ve-*) of **νέος**. The nouns in *-η* from verb-stems, originally abstracts, describing a process, are regularly extended to the *effect* of the process, e.g. **πλοκή** *plaiting, wreath*, **δίκη** *suining, way*, etc.: and **κλάβα** therefore might be the *sore* produced in running eyes.—**γλάμας** Platt, *Class. Rev.* XI. p. 95.

881. τὰς ἀμφί σοι...λαμπτηρουχίας

From the analogy of other like words (**δαδουχία**, **λαμπαδουχία** etc.) we should suppose that **λαμπτηρουχία** was the *function* of **λαμπτηροῦχοι** or *torch-bearers* and *ἡ ἀμφί τῷ λαμπτηρουχίᾳ attendance upon a person as a torch-bearer*. Many words of this type, e.g. **σκηπτούχος**, **κληροῦχος**, **ἐνοῦχος**, describe *offices* and *officers*. Here it seems to mean 'attending the king with torches' to his chamber, the *deductio*, as a state-ceremony. **ἀτημελήτους**, *neglected*, would, as applied to a ceremony, mean 'disused'. The queen wept that the king came no more with the accustomed state to his chamber.—Other explanations offered are (1) that the beacons (*v.* 293) were neglected, i.e. not lit, for want of cause to light them, (2) that the watch-fires lighted in the house in expectation of the king's return 'were disregarded', i.e. he did not come (Sidgwick), (3) that Clytemnestra's lamp (really lit for Aegisthus) did not bring back her husband (Headlam, *Class. Rev.* XVII. 244).

But as for me, the fountains of my tears have run themselves dry, and there is no drop there. With watching late mine eyes are sore, with weeping for thine attendance of torch-bearers neglected still. The droning gnat with lightest flutter would wake me from dreams, in which I saw thee pass through more than the time of my sleep.

Now, after all this misery, in the relief of my soul, I would hail this my husband as a watch-dog to the fold, the ship's securing stay, the high roof's grounded pillar, as a child sole-born to a father hopeless, or land espied by mariners in despair, dawn as it looks most beautiful after storm, a flowing spring to the thirsty wayfarer,—but everywhere escape from distress is

But do these adequately render λαμπτήρ-οἰχία?

883. λεπταῖς, emphasized by displacement in the sentence, *lightest*.—ὕπαι κώνωπος together; ῥιπαῖσι with θούσσοντος. The construction of ὑπό with dative of agent is not certified in Aeschylus (Wecklein mentions *Theb.* 915, but justly holds that that case is distinguishable).

885. τοῦ... χρόνου *i.e.* the time of my sleeping. "The personifying instinct pervades the language of Aeschylus" (Sidgwick).

886. ἀπενθήσῃ is distinguishable from ἀπενθήs. The passive form, in its full force, means 'relieved from grief' (*dis-griefed*) so to speak, 'made ἀπενθήs').

887. τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα, literally 'of the fold a dog', *i.e.* *what a dog is to the fold*. The article should in strictness have been repeated throughout the catalogue, τῶν μὲν σταθμῶν κύνα, τῆς δὲ ναὸς πρότον, τῆς δὲ στέγης στῦλον, κτλ., and so a prose-writer would have written. But in poetry the logical completeness of this is naturally sacrificed to euphony: with σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον we supply τῆς ναὸς, and so on.

889. στῦλον. I had probably the mis-spelling στῶλον.—στῶλον h.

890. καὶ "connects 887—889, which describe the *protection* and *security* afforded by the master, with 890—892, which describe the *delight* of his unhopèd-for

return. The transition from one set to the other is marked by καὶ". Sidgwick. —Mr S. J. Rowton suggests to me as a simpler explanation that καὶ couples only γῆν and τέκνον, joined because φανείσαν παρ' Ἀπείδα belongs to both, 'an only child coming to a despairing father, or land appearing to despairing sailors'. So also Dr Headlam (*Class. Rev.* xvii. 244) comparing Pind. *Ol.* 10. 86 χρόνῳ μὲν φάνεν, ἀλλ' ὅτε παῖς... πατρὶ ποσειδῶς κτλ. I adopt this.—This artificial catalogue betrays the speaker, as indeed does most of the oration. No one could make a successful speech in such a situation, though it is natural enough that the queen should try. As the king severely and truly remarks, she is much too long. But she attains the real object of her appearance before the palace, when he is compelled to accept the perfidious compliment of the tapestry.

891. *Dawns as it looks the fairest, after storm*. The superlative, though much criticized, seems correct.

893—4. Literally 'but relief is sweet in everything; *such like* then are the titles with which I express my praise', *i.e.* 'as the types of deliverance, such as the foregoing, are infinite in number, I take them in the sum and mean them all'. The cardinal point is the emphasis on τοιαῦτα, emphasized in respect of its difference from τοῖσδε. 'The queen's



τοιοῖσδέ τοίνυν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν.  
 φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ πρὶν κακὰ 895  
 ἦν νειχόμεσθα. νῦν δέ μοι, φίλον κára,  
 ἔκβαιν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μὴ χαμαὶ τιθεῖς  
 τὸν σὸν πόδ', ὦναξ, Ἰλίου πορθήτορα.  
 δμωαί, τί μέλλεθ', αἷς ἐπέσταλται τέλος  
 πέδον κελεύθου στρωννύναι πετάσμασιν; 900  
 εὐθύς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος,  
 ἐς δῶμ' ἀελπτον ὥς ἂν ἡγήται δίκη.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντὶς οὐχ ὑπνῷ νικωμένη  
 θήσει, δικαίως (σὺν θεοῖς) *λείμαρμένα.* *Τακ*  
 ΑΓ. Λήδας γένεθλον, δωμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ, 905  
 ἀπουσίᾳ μὲν εἴπας εἰκύτως ἐμῇ·

898. ὦναξ.

copiousness, as is the danger of unreal eloquence, has overrun itself and reached a point at which it is equally ineffective to go on or to stop. With *πᾶσαι βέαι* her catalogue is in no way rounded off, and yet one or two more *προσφθέγματα* would carry her over the edge of the sublime. Perforce therefore she generalizes, and concludes in fact with an *et cetera*. Thus a fine piece of verse is spoiled, but it was made for the purpose. Aeschylus could afford to purchase a piece of truth at the cost of a few big words.—ἀξιῶ: 'to hold in value', then 'to pronounce valuable', and so, as here, 'to praise, honour', both of things and persons, cf. Eur. *Or.* 1210 *καλοῦσιν ὑμεναίοισιν ἀξιουμένην*, *Her.* 319. The verb is used, as any transitive verb may be, absolutely; see e.g. v. 1182 *φρονέωσθε δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων* *my teaching shall be no longer enigmatic*; so here, *my praise bestows titles like these*. But in effect the object is *ἄνδρα τόνδε* supplied from the foregoing period (v. 887) of which this line is really a part.—See further Appendix Q.

898. φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω, i.e. the excess of my joy, after what I have suffered,

does not deserve rebuke. According to Greek religious feeling the display of human happiness was itself a provocation to fortune.

896. At a sign from the queen the path to the house is strown with crimson embroidered tapestries, properly used for religious processions and ceremonies, over which the king is invited to walk. The urgency of Clytemnestra in forcing him to accept this homage has a motive more direct and simple than the chance of exposing him to the jealousy of Fate. It is designed for the people, upon whose conduct in a few minutes the lives of the queen and her partisans will depend. To stimulate discontent and discourage loyalty is of vital moment. By the queen's arrangement, what the murmuring spectators see is that the returned tyrant enters his palace with a kind of pomp shocking to Hellenic eyes (see on v. 938). His reluctance, even if taken for genuine, could be appreciated only by the immediate bystanders. It is like Gracchus pointing to his head, only that in this case the ill effect is designed. To Aeschylus the scene may perhaps have



sweet; in *such-like* titles then would my praising run. And let jealousy refrain, seeing how much was the woe we endured before.

But now, I pray thee, beloved, step from this car—but not on the earth, king, set that foot of thine, which has humbled Troy. Slaves, why delay ye to do your commanded office, and strow the ground of his way with coverings? In a moment let the laid path be turned to purple, that to a home unexpected he may have conduct due.

‘And for the rest’, a vigilance never laid asleep shall order it as just providence, I trust, intends.

*Ag.* Daughter of Leda, who hast my house in charge, if to the measure of my absence thou hast stretched the length of

been suggested by the fate of Pausanias, one of whose gravest offences was his adoption of Oriental ceremony.

898. τὸν σὸν πῶδ'. Elision of substantives and adjectives having the quantity — is rare in tragic verse, and by Aeschylus and Sophocles scarcely allowed except under peculiar conditions. Their regular use is as in *v.* 887 κύρα, *v.* 893 λὰνδ. As to the details see *Journal of Philology* XII. p. 136. The exceptions are about 3 *per cent.* In the iambic verse of Aeschylus this is the only one sufficiently attested. (On *P. V.* 355 δώσειν Δι', and *Eum.* 903 κατὰ χθὸν' ὄσα, see the article cited.) What justifies it to the ear will appear to be this, that in the phrase τὸν σὸν πῶδα following χαμαὶ τίθει the noun, being anticipated and so to speak ‘discounted’, has no weight, while on the other hand what is lost by curtailment to πῶδα goes to increase the stress upon σὸν, on which the meaning depends,—that foot, O king, which thou hast set upon Troy.

902. ἀέλπτον. δίκη with ironic intention, meaning ostensibly *scarce hoped for* ..due ceremony, but for those informed *unexpected...vengeance*

903. φροντίς οὐχ ὕπνῳ νικωμένη an expression not lost upon those privy to the secret of the queen’s night-watch.

Ostensibly it is a compliment to the ‘open eyes’ of the king, and τὰ δ' ἄλλα in fact recalls the conclusion of his speech (*v.* 835), which she hears as she enters.

*id.* Literally ‘shall order it, being, I trust, justly fated’, an expression of pious reliance upon heaven to show the right in the king’s threatened investigation. So the words should be grouped, if the reading is right.—θεοῖσιν ἄρμενα Meimke, Wecklein, where θήσει ἄρμενα is ‘shall order them fitly’.

905. Agamemnon dismisses the queen’s salutation with a sarcasm, and sternly rebukes her for the untimely pomp, of which he divines the malicious motive (*v.* 912). Of his danger he has not a glimpse, nor does it lie in any of the facts which he knows or suspects, but in the undiscovered plot and preparations of the conspirators. See the Introduction.—*Δήδας γίνεθλον*: a significant opening. Clytaemnestra was the daughter of one false wife and the sister of another, and her husband, who calls her by no other name or title but this, neither ‘wife’, nor ‘queen’, nor even ‘Clytaemnestra’, gives her to know that he has not forgotten the fact. Cf. *Ov. Her.* 16. 291 (Paris to Helen) *vix fieri, si sunt vires in semine avorum, | et Iovis et Ledaë filia, casta potes.* Euripides (if it be he,

μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας· ἄλλ' ἐναισίμως  
 αἰνεῖν, παρ' ἄλλων χρὴ τόδ' ἔρχεσθαι γέρας.  
 καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ  
 ἄβρυνε, μηδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην 910  
 χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί,  
 μηδ' εἵμασι στρώσας' ἐπίφθονον πόρον  
 τίθει· θεοὺς τοι τοῖσδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεών,  
 ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν  
 βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄνευ φόβου. 915  
 λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ.  
 χωρὶς ποδοψήστρων τε καὶ τῶν ποικίλων  
 κληδὼν αὐτεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν  
 θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον. ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρὴ  
 βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὖεστοῖ φίλῃ. 920  
 εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πρᾶσσοιμ' ἂν εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ.

ΚΛ. καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἰπέ, μὴ παρὰ γνώμην, ἐμοί,—

ΑΓ. γνώμην μὲν ἴσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ' ἐμέ.

ΚΛ. ἡὔξω θεοῖς δείσας ἂν ὧδ' ἔρδειν τάδε ;

910. βαρβάθου.

*Isch. A. 686*) makes Agamemnon use the same title, among others, without special intention; but that he should select it at such a moment as this, and avoid every other, is not to be supposed accidental.

909. ἐμὲ ἐμοί: 'me, who have no taste for such things, however the habits of my house may have been changed for the worse in my absence'. See on v 918. —ἐν τρόποις. ἐν/of circumstance, with.

911. Literally 'make open-mouthed grovelling clamour in honour of me'.

913. τίθει with emphasis, 'do not invite jealousy'.

915. ἐμοὶ μὲν 'to me at least'.

916. Ambiguous; 'I would have the honour of a man—and husband—not of a god'.

917. τε καὶ: 'without carpets for the feet as without refinements generally'.—

τῶν ποικίλων includes both 'decoration' and 'subtlety, fraud'. The artificial phrase τὰ ποικίλα is chosen to bring out this malicious suggestion.

918. *Rumour cries loud*, another formidable phrase. Rumour sufficiently proclaims the glory of Agamemnon—and the modesty of his wife? She has dwelt on the κληδόνες that came from Troy (v. 865). what of the κληδὼν that went there? (Properitius, who has imitated this play elsewhere, seems to have had this passage in mind in 2. 18–35 'ipse tuus semper tibi sit custodia lectus, | nec nimis ornata fronte sedere velis. | credam ego narranti, noli committere, famae | et terram minor transiit et maria'.)

921. 'And that I shall act on this principle *always* is the assurance for me', literally 'and I am confident inasmuch

thy address, still for a modest praise, the honour should proceed from some other lips. For the rest, offer no womanish luxuries to me, nor before me, as before a king of the East, grovel with open-mouthed acclaim, nor with vestures strown draw jealous eyes upon my path. To the gods these honours belong. To tread, a mortal, upon fair fineries is to my poor thoughts a thing of fear. Give me I say the worship not of thy god but of thy lord. No foot-cloths, no false refinements, need proclaim what rumour cries. An unpresumptuous mind is God's greatest gift: happy let him be called, who has come prosperously to the end. And that such will be ever my rule is the assurance for me.

*Cl.* Come answer, saving thy judgment, one question from me—

*Ag.* My judgment, be assured, is fixed beyond change by me.

*Cl.* Didst thou bind thyself belike, in some hour of terror, to this observance?

as I should do *all* things after this fashion'.—*εἰ πρόσσοιμ' ἄν*. The optative with *ἄν*, standing in a conditional clause, has the same meaning that it would have in a principal sentence, *i.e.* it expresses what *would* happen or *is likely* to happen, under conditions expressed or implied. (It is grammatically an *apodosis*.) Here the implied condition is the universal condition 'whatever the circumstances', and is in fact contained in *πάντα*. See on *Theb.* 304.—*πρόσσοιμ' ἄν* 'I should do' (Paley), not 'I should fare'.—*ὥς* *thus*, 'with the moderation and propriety that I show in this refusal'. The remark, or rather promise, is for the benefit of the bystanders.—I follow Mr Sidgwick in holding that this verse is correct. *εἶπον τὰδ', ὥς* Weil.

922—933. On the effect of this alteration see Appendix R.

922—923. *καὶ μὴν* *see*, marks a new turn.—*τὸδ' εἰπὲ ἱμοί* differs from the usual formula for asking a question, *εἰπέ μοι*, only in the appealing emphasis thrown upon *ἱμοί*.—*τῷδε*: the question

(*v.* 924), which follows the king's interruption.—*μὴ παρὰ γνώμην*: literally 'not against judgment', an afterthought and parenthesis, as is shown by the imp. aor. *εἰπέ* (not subj. as required in prohibition) For *παρὰ γνώμην λέγειν* see *Eur. Med.* 577 *καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ἐρῶ though it be an ill-judged thing to say*. The parenthesis here is thrown in just to get a hearing, and means 'you may, without sacrifice of judgment, answer a question'.—The alternative rendering, 'yet order this not contrary to my purpose', scarcely satisfies either *τὸδ' εἰπέ* or *καὶ μὴν*.—*γνώμην...μὴ διαφθεροῦντα* 'that I shall not alter my judgment (resolve) for the worse'. *Eur. Hipp.* 388 *ταῦτα...προγνοῦσ' ἐγώ, οὐ διαφθερεῖν ἐμελλον* (Paley).

924. *You vowed perhaps in some hour of terror so to perform this act?* *i.e.* to make a humble entrance, propitiating the gods by renunciation. She tries a taunt of cowardice (Sidgwick).—*ἤϊξω ἄν* 'you must have vowed': for this conjectural use of the past indicative with *ἄν* see on *Theb.* 696. The sentence is in

- ΑΓ. εἴπερ τις, εἰδώς γ' εὖ τύδ' ἐξεῖπον τέλος. 925  
 ΚΛ. τί δ' ἂν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος, εἰ τάδ' ἤνυσεν;  
 ΑΓ. ἐν ποικίλοις ἂν κάρτα μοι βῆναι δοκεῖ.  
 ΚΛ. μή νυν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἰδεσθῆς ψόγον.  
 ΑΓ. φήμη γε μέντοι δημόθρους μέγα σθένει.  
 ΚΛ. ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητός γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει. 930  
 ΑΓ. οὔτοι γυναικός ἐστιν ἰμείρειν μάχης.  
 ΚΛ. τοῖς δ' ὀλβίοις γε καὶ τὸ νικᾶσθαι πρέπει.  
 ΑΓ. ἦ καὶ σὺ νίκην τήνδε δῆριος τίεις.  
 ΚΛ. πιθοῦ· κράτος μὲν τοι πάρες γ' ἐκὼν ἐμοί·  
 ΑΓ. ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας 935  
 λυοὶ τάχος, πρόδουλον ἔμβασιν ποδός.—  
 καὶ τοῖσδέ μ' ἐμβαίνονθ' ἀλουργέσιν θεῶν  
 μή τις πρόσωθεν ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος.  
 πολλή γὰρ αἰδὼς σωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶν  
 φθείροντα πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ὑφάς. 940

926 and 927 δοκῇ

form a statement with interrogation.—  
 ἔρδειν, properly of the performance of a ritual.—*δεῖσασαν* Hermann; 'have you vowed to the gods that I should make such a sacrifice (of costly decorations) only in fear of your life?'

925. *τλος* final decision. He ignores her question.

926. *δοκεῖ* Stanley.—*τί* represents a verb to be filled in by the answer, *ἐν ποικίλοις βῆναι*. So in *ὅσα τί*; *with what object?* *τί* represents a verb in the subjunctive.—Priam is no argument; it is the king's very ground of objection that the ceremony is *βάρβαρον*. Clytemnestra is merely talking down resistance.

928. *τὸν ἀνθρώπειον*: 'if it is not fear of the gods, then fear not *men*'.

929. See on v. 918.

932. They may submit (let themselves be conquered) with grace.

933. *ἦ...τίεις* you plainly, no less than I, think the point worth contest. She has spoken as if it were beneath

his dignity to contest such a trifle. He retorts that the matter does not seem indifferent to her *νίκην τήνδε* 'having the best in this matter'. *δῆριος τίεις*: the genitive is that of price. For the archaic use of *τίειν*, 'to value at, rate at', see Hom. *Il.* 23. 703, 705.—Or we may join *δῆριος* with *νίκην*, *do you yourself find a victory so won to your taste?* Here *νίκην τήνδε* means *τὸ νικᾶσθαι* (see preceding verse) But *δῆριος* seems then superfluous.

934. *Yield: I constrain you, let it be with consent*. In *μὲν τοι*, each particle has its separate force. For *μὲν*, 'force at all events', cf. v. 915. The antithesis implied in *μὲν*, but not formally completed, is between *κράτος* and *ἐκὼν*, *force* and *consent*. See also *Theb.* 736 *γέλιντο μὲν μόρον αὐτῷ* *he begat a son only to be his death*, and note there.—*τοι* 'you know', an appeal to common sense, must generally be omitted in English for want of a compendious equivalent.—*κρατεῖς*



*Ag.* Never was last word spoken on better reflexion than this.

*Cl.* What had Priam done, thinkest thou, if he had achieved the same?

*Ag.* He had made him a fine fair path, I am very sure.

*Cl.* Then let not blame of men make thee ashamed.

*Ag.* But the voice of the multitude is a mighty thing.

*Cl.* Aye, but who moves no jealousy wins no envy.

*Ag.* To love contention is not a woman's part.

*Cl.* Nay, but the great may e'en yield a point with grace.

*Ag.* Thou plainly, no less than I, thinkest the point worth fight.

*Cl.* Yield: I constrain thee; let it be with consent.

*Ag.* Then, if this be thy will, quick, let one loose my shoes, these trodden slaves to the serving foot.—Even with these bare soles, as I walk the sacred purple, I hope no distant eye may give me an evil glance. It is shame enough to stain with the stain of human feet textures of price, purchased for silver.

*μέντοι* *parols* Weil and, omitting γ', Wecklein; 'you win however, if you yield willingly'; cf. v. 932.—With these words she lays hands upon the king, and compels him to descend.

936. *λύοι* for the usual *λύτω*. See on v. 557.—*τάχος* adverbial, *with speed*.—The unusual pause after the second foot adds abruptness to the abrupt command. The king is impatient to have done.—*πρόδουλον*, *servant to a servant* (*vicarius*), meaner *even* than the foot (*Schutz*).—Here his shoes are taken off.

937. *καὶ τοῖσδε* *even with these if I tread etc*, *τὲ τοῖς ποσιν*, with his bare feet, see v. 939. The demonstrative pronoun is explained by look and gesture. Even thus he fears to provoke 'the evil eye' by his act.—*τοῖσδε* may be taken with *ἀλουργέσιν*, but it is then superfluous, whereas by position it should be emphatic.—*θεῶν* belongs to *ἀλουργέσιν* (*sacred tapestries* proper only for divine service).—*ἀλουργίσιν*. The substantival use of *ἀλουργής* is irregular. Probably we should read therefore *ἀλουργίν*.

938. *μὴ βάλοι* *I hope no distant eye may give me an evil glance*. *πρόσωθεν* marks the point. See Appendix R. To supply *θεῶν* is not necessary. According to the superstition, the eye of human jealousy is as dangerous as the divine. See on v. 942.

939. *σωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶν φθείροντα* *to stain with the stain of human feet*. For *φθεῖρειν* *spoil* see *Cho.* 1011 *φόνου κηκίς*...*πολλὰς βαφὰς φθείρουσα τοῦ ποικιλιματός*—*σωματοφθορεῖν* should not be rejected. For *σωματοφθόρος* 'staining (or stained) with the body' cf. *χειρομάχος*, *δακτυλοδεκτός* etc. Garments stained by wearing would be *σωματόφθορα*, the person wearing them *σωματοφθόρος εἰμάτων*, and his act *σωματοφθορεῖν εἴματα*. The word therefore distinguishes the bare feet ('feet of the body') from the shod.—For corrections (*εἰματοφθορεῖν*, *στρωματοφθορεῖν*, *δωματοφθορεῖν*) see Wecklein's Appendix.

940. *πλοῦτον ἀργυρμνήτους θ'* *ἕψας* 'what is wealth, textures bought for silver'. *πλοῦτον*: in a restricted sense, as we speak of the *precious* metals. *ἀρ-*



- τούτων μὲν οὕτω· τὴν ξένην δὲ πρεμενῶς  
 τήνδ' ἐσκόμιζε. τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς  
 θεὸς πρόσωθεν εὐμενῶς προσδέκεται·  
 ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς δουλίῳ χρήται ζυγῷ,  
 αὕτη δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον 945  
 ἄνθος στρατοῦ δώρημ' ἐμοὶ ξυνέσπετο.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούειν σοῦ κατέστραμμαι τάδε,  
 εἴμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα πορφύρας πατῶν.  
 ΚΛ. ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει;  
 τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἰσάργυρον 950  
 κηκίδα παγκαίνιστον, εἰμάτων βαφάς.  
 οἶκος δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε σὺν θεοῖς, ἄναξ,  
 ἔχειν· πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται δόμος.  
 πολλῶν πατησμον δ' εἰμάτων ἂν ηὔξάμην,  
 δόμοισι προυνεχθέντος ἐν χρηστηρίοις 955  
 ψυχῆς κόμιστρα τῆσδε μηχανωμένη.  
 ρίζης γὰρ οὔσης φυλλὰς ἴκετ' ἐς δόμους,  
 σκιὰν ὑπερτείνασα σειρίου κυνός.  
 καὶ σοῦ μολόντος δωματῆτιν ἔστιαν,  
 θάλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνεις μολῶν· 960  
 ὅταν δὲ τεύχη Ζεὺς ἀπ' ὀμφακος πικρᾶς  
 οἶνον, τότε ἥδη ψυχὸς ἐν δόμοις πέλει

945. αὐτή. 948. δόμου.  
 950. εἰς ἄργυρον. 954. δειμάτων. 956. μηχανωμένης.  
 961. τῷπ'.

γυρνήτους: the ordinary dress, tapestry etc. of a Greek household were not bought, but made there.—τῇ is not necessary, but is often used where simple apposition would be admissible.

941. τούτων μὲν οὕτω: literally 'of this thus', a formula impatiently dismissing the subject. There is an ellipse of something (e.g. ἀπαλαχθῶμεν), but of what, a native Greek might have been unable to say. Nothing parallel seems to occur

elsewhere, for such a genitive as τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φῆι, ἔχοντος ἢ μέλλοντος; (Soph. *El.* 317) may, as Wecklein says, be distinguished. τοῦμὲν Emperius, Wecklein.—τὴν ξένην δὲ: see Appendix R.

942. τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς: see on v. 10. Whatever may be the effect on other 'distant eyes' (see v. 938), divine eyes at least will be propitiated by his humanity.

945. αὕτη Auratus.—"She therefore, as a delicate princess, will feel slavery

Of this enough. But here is one, whom thou must receive into the house with kindness. A gentle master wins from the distant eye of God an approving glance; for none takes willingly to the yoke of a slave, and this damsel is the choice flower of a rich treasure, bestowed by the soldiers upon me, with whom she goes.

• And now, since I am reduced to obey thee herein, I will proceed to the palace along your purple path.

CL. There is a sea (and who shall drain it dry?) which hath in it purple enough, precious as silver, oozing fresh and fresh, to dye vestures withal. And we have, O King, I trust, a chamber of such from which to take thereof, our house being unacquainted with poverty. Vestures plenty would I have devoted to the trampling, had it been proposed to me in some temple of divination, when I was devising means to bring this dear life back. It is the root of the house, whereby the leaves arrive that make a shade overhead against the dog-star. Yes, now, at thy coming to the familiar hearth, thy winter-coming betokens warmth, and when Zeus from the grape's sourness is making wine, then it is

the most keenly." So rightly Headlam, *Class. Rev.* xvii. 245.

949—953. 'There is purple enough in the sea, and enough within'. As the king proceeds along the path of crimson ποικίλματα, it is to the eye of the queen, who foresees the εἰμάτων βαφάς that are to follow (v. 1382), as though already he walked in blood. There is also in the mere sound and imagery of the opening verse the feeling of her hatred, deep, cruel, and inexhaustible. But no commentary can exhaust the significance of this marvellous scene, which for spectacular writing, if the phrase may be used, has probably never been rivalled.—θάλασσα: see Appendix O.

950. ἱσάργυρον (Salmasius) worth its weight in silver ἱσοστάσις γὰρ ἦν ἡ πορφύρα πρὸς ἀργυρον ἐξεταζομένη (Theopompus ap. Athenaeum xii. 526 c, cited by Hermann).—κηκίδα παγκαλίνιστον purple ooze ever fresh and fresh κηκίς, because the dye is the juice or ooze of a shell-fish.

But it is the underlying thought, not the surface-meaning, which determines the expression.

952. *There is a store, I trust, from which to take thereof.* τῶνδε (i.e. εἰμάτων) depends on ἔχειν as partitive.—σὺν θεοῖς: see v. 904.—There is difficulty in οἶκος. But perhaps οἶκος may stand in the sense of 'household goods', 'store'.—οἶκος Headlam, οἶκος Porson.

954. δ' εἰμάτων Canter.

955. προυεχθέντος τοῦ εἰσάσθαι.—δόμοισι ἐν χρηστηρίοις together.

956. μηχανωμένη Abresch, Hermann.

957. ἔκρο, gnomic aorist, comes. The comparison and the thing compared mix together, 'thy life is the root of the house, and thy safe coming as the putting forth of the shading leaves'.

957—963. The artificial manner recalls vv. 887 foll.

958. σκιδαν κυνός shade against: see ὀπνυ ἄκος v. 17.

960. ἐν χειμῶνι. See Introduction

ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστροφωμένου.—  
 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει,  
 μέλοι δέ τοι σοὶ τῶνπερ ἂν μέλλης τελεῖν. 965

ΧΟ. τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπέδως στρ. α'.  
 δεῖγμα προστατήριον  
 > καρδίας τετρασκόπου ποτᾶται,  
 μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος ἄμισθος αἰοιδά;  
 οὐδ' ἀποπτύσας δίκαν 970  
 δυσκρίτων ὄνειράτων  
 θάρσος εὐπειθὲς ἵζει,  
 φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον; χρόνος δ' ἐπὶ  
 πρυμνησίων ξυνεμβόλοις  
 ψαμμί' ἀκτὰς παρή- 975  
 κησεν, εὐθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον  
 ὤρτο ναυβάτας στρατός.  
 πεύθομαι δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων ἀντ. α'.  
 νόστον, αὐτόμαρτυς ὦν.

972. εὐπιθεῖ.

973. ἐπει.

975—76. ψαμμίαι ἀκᾶτα παρήρησεν.

963. *τελείου* a grim word. As applied to the husband or master of the house, it means *governing*, 'bearing *τέλος*' i.e. authority or office (see on *Thes.* 152). But it is also a ritual term, applied to the *perfect* victim, fit for the sacrifice (cf. *ἀνδρσφαγεῖον* v. 1077 and note the ritual term *τελεῖν*, to accomplish a *rite*, in v. 964).

964. Agamemnon has passed within; Clytaemnestra turns at the door.—*τέλειαι* 'supreme' and over all, as the man over the house (cf. the title *Ἥρα τελεία* given to the goddess of matronhood). Clytaemnestra conceives herself, as avenger of Iphigenia, to have a claim upon the god of family-life, if it is his pleasure to interfere at all.—*τέλειε, μέλοι δὲ* accomplish my prayers, and then thy providence may accomplish even what thou mayst intend: i.e. 'give me vengeance,

be the sequel what it may'. *μέλοι*. This use of the optative, to signify acquiescence, belongs to the same archaic syntax as the imperative optative (936). See Hom. *Il.* 11. 359 *λήγ' ἔριδος*, *Τρῶας δὲ καὶ ἀντίκα διοτ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἄστεος ἐξέλασσε*, *cease strife*, and *I consent that* etc. (see *Monro, Homeric Grammar* § 299 for more illustrations).—For *μέλων* of *visio*al *providence* see v. 381 *οὐκ ἔφατι θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλων ὅσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις παύοιτο*.—*V.* 965 may be taken as merely a repetition of *τέλειε*, but this does not satisfy the generality of *τῶνπερ ἂν μέλλης*.—*τῶνπερ* (for *τῶν τᾶνπερ*) is an example, said to be unique, of the Attic 'attraction' occurring in a relative of this archaic form. It could be removed by reading either *μέλλης* or *μέλλῃ τέρι* (*Maehly*).

965. Clytaemnestra enters the house,

to the home like a sudden coolness to be visited by the crowned lord thereof. [Exit AGAMEMNON.

Zeus, Zeus, who crownest all, crown but my prayers, and let thy providence do even what thou wilt.

[Exit CLYTEMNESTRA; *the crowd disperses.*

*The Elders.* Why is it that so constantly my auguring soul shows at the door this fluttering sign, and the prophet-chant offers itself without bidding or fee? Canst thou not spit it away, like an unexplainable dream, and reach such willing trust as the mind is glad to rest upon? Yet time hath heaped the sands of the shore upon the anchor-stones(?), since the naval host set forth to Troy: and they are returned, mine own eyes tell me

leaving Cassandra seated in her chariot. As to the scene generally at this point see the Introduction.

967. δέλυμα *signi, i.e.* 'advertisement' or 'warning' of something that is to come. For a not dissimilar use, see Eur. *El.* 1174 (Orestes and Electra, after slaying Clytemnestra, come from the house with blood upon their feet) τροπαία δέλυμα' ἀθλίων προσφθεγμάτων 'a victorious advertisement of the unhappysalutation (they will pronounce)'.—δέλυμα *Cod. Farn.*; see Appendix S.

970. οὐδ' ἀποπτύσας θρόνον; *i.e.* 'why not dismiss at any rate for the time forebodings too obscure to be of any use?' He expostulates with himself.—οὐδὲ· literally 'wilt thou not even ...?' or 'not so much as...?'—ἀποπτύσας ἔξει: for the relation of the participle and verb see *vv.* 606, 611, 1031, 1052 etc. The principal notion is in ἀποπτύσας, *quasi* οὐκ ἀποπτύσεις, ὥστε ἰκέσθαι;—ἀποπτύσας literally, the act being a magic prevention. If a dream can be interpreted, well; if not, you 'spit it away', and think no more about it. The object of ἀποπτύσας (*tu*, the foreboding) is supplied from the previous sentence.—εὐπειθὲς (Jacob) 'easy-believing', see on *v.* 286, *i.e.* a voluntary trust.—φρονὸς φίλον θρόνον: in apposition to θάρσος, literally 'a welcome seat to the mind'.—If this sentence is taken as one with the

preceding, there is no subject for ἀποπτύσας. ἔξει. Hence ἀποπτύσαν ... ἔξει (Scaliger, cf. *v.* 776) 'while confidence does not spit it away.. and sit on the seat of my mind'. But the metaphors clash.

973—979. *I.e.* 'it is so long since the sacrifice at Aulis, and the prophecies thereupon (*v.* 160) are so far refuted by the king's safe return, that we might well be re-assured'.—The text is given merely as possible. ἐπὶ and ἀνάτας *Cod. Farn.*: ἀκτάς Wellauer. ψαμμιακτάς is a combination of letters likely to produce error from confusion of ψαμμία (from ψαμμίον) with the adjective ψάμμιος. παρήμνησεν: cf. *v.* 1420 βιασμάτων *Codex Venetus* for μισμάτων. For παρ-αμῶ to *hear as a cover* see ἀμῶ, and compare παραμπίσχω, παρακαλύπτω etc.—πρυμνησίων ξυνεμβόλοις. a ξυνέμβολον is by etymology 'what is thrown in with' something, here with the cables (πρυμνήσια). It seems to describe the large stones which the Greeks used as anchors. The lapse of time since the fleet was moored (*v.* 205) at Aulis is marked by the fact that 'the mooring-stones have disappeared in the sand'.—εὔτε *since* in the temporal sense, as Sophocles occasionally (*O. C.* 84) uses it for *since* in the causal sense. Cf. the uses of ἐπεὶ—χρόνος παρήβησεν 'time has passed his youth' does not seem to bear any natural sense. The tense at any rate should be perfect (παρήβηκεν Headlam).

τὸν δ', ἄνευ λύρας ὅπως, ὕμνωδεῖ 980  
 θρῆνον Ἑρινύος αὐτοδίδακτος ἔσωθεν  
 θυμός, οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἔχων  
 ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος.  
 σπλάγχνα δ' οὔτοι ματάζει,  
 πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσὶν τελεσφόροις 985  
 δίναις κυκλούμενον κέαρ.  
 εὐχομαι δ' ἐξ ἐμᾶς  
 ἐλπίδος ψύδη πεσεῖν  
 ἐς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον.  
 μάλα γάρ τοι τᾶς πολλᾶς ὑγείας στρ. β'. 990  
 ἀκόρεστον τέρμα· νόσος γὰρ  
 γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει.  
 καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορῶν  
 ἀνδρὸς ἔπαισεν ἄφαντον ἔρμα.  
 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων 995  
 κτησίων, ὅκνος βαλῶν  
 σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρον,  
 οὐκ ἔδω πρόπας δόμος  
 παμουᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,

981. *ερινύς.*999. *πημονῆς.*

980. τὸν, demonstrative, *that strain* (ὕμνον), θρῆνον Ἑρινύος a further description as in Homer (Monro, *Hom. Gr.* §§ 258, 259).—ἄνευ λύρας ὅπως 'sings without the lyre as it were' i.e. unbidden, uninvited, ἀκλειωστος (v. 969), an expression apparently arising from the Greek habit of passing the lyre in company. To receive the lyre was to be asked to sing; ἄνευ λύρας εἶδεν therefore 'to sing unasked'. *Sad* (see ἄλντος, ἀφόρμικτος) is also part of the meaning.—Ἑρινύος Porson.—ὅμως Auratus.

982. οὐ τὸ πᾶν *not to the full* The misgiving recurs in spite of the encouraging circumstances.

984. σπλάγχνα. The metaphor passes from the *outside* to the *inward parts* of

the victim from which he draws his conclusions.

985. *The throbb that with meaning recurrence the heart repeats to the unmitigated breast*, literally 'the coming round of the heart with portentous revolution against the truth-telling breast'.

987. *But I pray my false expectation may lose itself in void*, literally 'that out of my expectation may come falsehood falling into non-accomplishment'.—ψύδη is part of the predicate, like a 'proleptic' epithet. (The form may be right: ψύδος may have existed as well as ψύθος. The stem ψυδ- is warranted by ψευδής.)

990—991. Doubtful in reading; compare the antistrophe (vv. 1004—1005). The general meaning is clear in both



so. But yet, as without the lyre, my bosom repeats that dirge of Doom, unlearned and self-inspired, unable to grasp in full the welcome assurance of hope. It cannot be for naught, the throb that with meaning recurrence the heart repeats to the unmistakable breast. But I pray my false expectation may lose itself in void.

Too true it is, that the health which abounds encroaches; for sickness is its neighbour right up to the wall and human fortune, running straight, will strike on a hidden reef. And as to the saving of goods, fear, discharging the measured scale, may keep the whole house from sinking under an over-freight

places. On the metre see Appendix II.—‘True it is that *the health, which abounds, encroaches*; for sickness is its neighbour right up to the wall’, i.e. ‘high condition passes easily into bad condition’, and generally ‘great prosperity is dangerous’. —τὰς πολλὰς ὑγίαις: health lies in moderation, and is essentially a μέσον not a πολύ.—ἀκόρεστον τέρμα its boundary is unsatisfied or rapacious, the quality of the encroaching neighbour being metaphorically given to the boundary (τέρμα) which he pushes forward into his neighbour’s land. The meaning is that, becoming πολλή, ὑγίεια necessarily enlarges into νόσος, there being no interval between them—ἐπείδει presses close to.

993—994. ἀνδρὸς i.e. βροτοῦ as occasionally in poetry. See Theb. 425, where ἀνδράσιν is opposed to θεοῖς, and note there. There is no sign here of anything lost. See on the antistrophe, v. 1008.

995—1009. A difficult passage. The general connexion is this. All prosperity is dangerous (990—994); and, while some kinds of loss may be averted by a timely and willing sacrifice of gain (995—1000), which sacrifice itself the bounty of heaven can make good (1001—1003), the life once lost is never restored (1004—1006), no, not the life of the most virtuous (1007—1009). Thus vv. 1001—

1003 are not a fresh illustration, but a parenthetic remark upon the foregoing illustration. See Housman, *Journal of Philology*, xvi, p. 271.

995. τὸ μὲν answers to τὸ δὲ in v. 1004, on the one hand on the other.

995—1000. A ship may be saved if not overloaded.—τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων κτησίῳν. literally ‘so far as concerns the preservation of wealth’: πρὸ on behalf of. (We can scarcely separate πρὸ from χρημάτων, or make χρ. κτ. mean ‘the main cargo’ as opposed to part of it.)—ὀκνος βαλὼν (χρημάτα) if apprehension discharges it: for the ‘pendent’ nominative participle cf. Supp. 455 καὶ γλῶσσα τοξεύσασα μὴ τὰ καίρια, γένοιτο μύθος μύθος ἂν θελκτήριος; it is really ‘in apposition to’ the main sentence, like the much commoner accusative (v. 236); the ‘casting-off’ is ‘the not-sinking of the house’.—σφενδόνας ἀπ’ εὐμέτρου: from the duly-weighted sling, i.e. from the loading-scale: see Appendix T.—δόμος is not part of the metaphor of the ship, but is the thing metaphorically compared to a ship, the house (cf. v. 388), which by liberality desires to escape the penalty of too much. παμονὰς γέμων ἄγαν over-fruited to wit the rich (Housman). For παμονή, from πάσμαι, to possess, a synonym of πᾶμα, compare the parallel forms πημονή—πήμα, χαρμονή—χάρμα, πησημονή—πλησημα: so also πᾶσις κτήσις

οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος. 1000  
 πολλά τοι δόσις ἐκ Διὸς ἀμφιλαφῆς τε, καὶ  
 ἐξ ἀλόκων ἐπετειᾶν  
 νῆστιν ὤλεσεν νόσον.  
 τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γὰν πεσόνθ' † ἅπαξ θανάσιμον ἀντ. β.  
 πρόπορ ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἶμα τίς ἂν 1005  
 πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων;  
 οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ  
 τῶν φθιμένων δὲ ἐπ' ἀβλαβεῖα.  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ τεταγμένα 1010  
 μοῖρα μοῖραν ἐκ θεῶν  
 εἶργε μὴ πλέον φέρειν,  
 προφθάσασα καρδία  
 γλῶσσαν ἂν τάδ' ἐξέχει.  
 νῦν δ' ὑπὸ σκότῳ βρέμει 1015  
 θυμαλγῆς τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπελπομένα ποτὲ  
 καίριον ἐκτολυνπεύσειν  
 ζωπυρουμένας φρενός.

ΚΛ. εἶσω κομίζου καὶ σύ, Κασάνδραν λέγω,

1007—9. φθιμένων ἀνάγειν | Ζεὺς αἰτ' ἐπαυσ' ἐπ' ἀβλαβεῖα.  
 1015. βλέπει corr. το βρέμει.

Hesychius, πάτορες· κτήτορες Photius. See *Journal of Philology* I. c.: *πημονᾶς mischief, damage*, does not fit the sense.

1001—1003. *Rich, we know, and abundant is the gift of Zeus, and rids the plague of hunger out of the annual field, i.e. the produce of each year supplies the year's food.* As Heaven gives man year by year in plenty what is needful for him, the eagerness for more than plenty is inexcusable. Agriculture, as usual, is the type of natural prosperity, and commerce (the *impiae rates* of Horace *Od.* I. 3) that of advance and excess.—ὤλεσεν νόσον, as if hunger were some weed or other mischievous thing in the soil (cf. *ἄφερος*

*αἰαντὸς νόσος* *Eum.* 482, 943) which Zeus, by his bounty, destroys.—ἤλασεν Schutz.

1004. τὸ δὲ. see on v. 995.—πεσόν Auratus, probably; but see Appendix II.

1005. μέλαν see on *Theb.* 43.

1007. οὐδὲ ἀβλαβεῖα nay, *to revive the most straitly virtuous were a sin*. literally 'not even the straitly virtuous of the dead may one recall from the dead with innocence'.—ἂν, supply ἀνακαλέσαι· τό τις, the elliptical ἂν marking, as usual, that the verb of the previous sentence, as well as the subject, is continued.—τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ literally 'the rightly schooled', cf. the Homeric *δαίφρων virtuous*. The allusion is to the

of riches, as a boat from going down. (Rich we know and abundant is the gift of Zeus, and rids the plague of hunger out of the annual field.) But as for a man's red blood, once shed from his dying body upon the ground, who with incantation may call it back? Nay, not the straitest in virtue may be called from the dead without sin!

And were it not that one god's purpose doth check and limit another's decree, my heart outrunning my tongue would have poured these bodings forth: but now she mutters in darkness, vexed and hopeless ever to wind off her task in time, and stirring the fire within me

[Enter CLYTAEMNESTRA.]

*Clytaemnestra* Come in with thee, thou also, Cassandra,

-1035

standing example of Hippolytus (Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 98, Eur. *Alc.* 123, Horace, *Od.* 4. 7. 25, Virg. *Aen.* 7. 765): for restoring him to life Asklepios was slain by Zeus, and according to one form of the story Hippolytus also perished a second time (see Horace). Hippolytus is the typical *ascetic*, trained in the Orphic discipline above the common level of humanity (see Eur. *Hipp.* 11, 952, and *passim*). Hence *ὀρθοδαής* here: the word itself is probably Orphic; see the references to the late *Orphica* in L. and Sc. s.v. *ὀρθόδοξαιρα*, *δαηρός*.—*τῶν φθιμένων*: the genitive is constructed (as *partitive*) with *τῶν ὀρθοδαή* and is also supplied (as *ablativus*) with the verb.—*ἀβλαβεία* (*Cod. Farn.*) is probably right. Either this passage is interpolated or the strophe deficient. The error is probably here, since the required excision leaves a text liable to be misunderstood and filled up. Moreover the strophe is sense as it stands, and this is not. The insertion may come from a note or notes, *ἀνάγοι* and *Zeus αὐτὸ ἐπαυσε* i.e. 'supply *ἀνάγοι*', 'Zeus put an end to it', or the like.

1010—1014 'So strong is my sense of an evil destiny at work, that I must perforce have spoken, but for the consoling reflexion, that it may be counteracted by a good destiny', for there are

many divine powers, whose purposes sometimes clash, and in the case of Agamemnon there is evidence both for the evil destiny and for the good. (Professor Goodwin, cited and followed by Mr Sidgwick.)—*τεταγμένα ἐκ θεῶν decreed by gods* belongs both to *μοῖρα* and (supplied again in the accusative) to *μοῖραν*.—*μὴ πλεον φέρειν*. with *εἰργε* literally *prevent from winning more, encoaching further*. cf. *πλεονέκτης taking more than your own*.

1015—1017. *νῦν δέ* 'as it is I ponder the matter sadly and without reaching any conclusion'. The figure, homely but vivid, is that of a woman with her wool, working in the winter against time, as we say, with no better light than she gets by stirring her fire. Virgil may perhaps have taken a touch from here for a well-known picture in the *Aeneid* (8. 410), 'cum femina primum, | cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva | impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitât ignes | nocentem addens operi'.

1019. Clytaemnestra, coming from the house, finds Cassandra still seated in the chariot and summons her imperiously to join, as a member of the household, the sacrifice which is to be performed for the king's return.

- ἐπεὶ σ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις 1020  
κοινωνὸν εἶναι χερνίβων, πολλῶν μετὰ  
δούλων σταθεῖσαν κτησίου βωμοῦ πέλας.  
ἐκβαίν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μηδ' ὑπερφρόνει.  
καὶ παῖδα γάρ τοι φασὶν Ἀλκμήνης ποτὲ  
πραθέντα τλῆναι δουλίας μάξης βίᾳ. 1025  
εἰ δ' οὖν ἀνάγκη τῆσδ' ἐπιρρέποι τύχης,  
ἀρχαιοπλούτων δεσποτῶν πολλὴ χάρις·  
οἱ δ' οὐποτ' ἐλπίσαντες ἤμυσαν καλῶς,  
ὡμοί τε δούλοις πάντα καὶ παράσταθμοι.  
ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν οἰάπερ νομίζεται. 1030
- XO. σοί τοι λέγουσα παύεται σαφὴ λόγον.  
ἐντὸς δ' ἂν οὔσα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων  
πεῖθοι ἄν, εἰ πείθοι· ἀπειθοίης δ' ἴσως.
- KΛ. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ μὴ χελιδόνος δίκην  
ἀγνώτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη, 1035  
ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νιν λόγῳ.
- XO. ἔπουν· τὰ λῶστα τῶν παρεστώτων λέγει.  
πιθοῦ λιποῦσα τόνδ' ἀμαξήρη θρόνον.
- KΛ. οὔτοι θυραῖαν τήνδ' ἐμοὶ σχολὴ πάρα

1025. δουλίας. βία.

1029. παραστάθμων.

1038. πείθου.

1020. ἀμηνίτως *not ungraciously*, because in a humane house, where the slaves are members of the family, not merely chattels.

1022. κτησίου βωμοῦ: the altar of Zeus Ktesios, guardian of the property and therefore of the slaves

1025. πραθέντα τλῆναι literally 'being sold (as a slave) endured', i.e. *bore up under the conditions of slavery*, distinguishable from ἔτλη πραθῆναι 'bore to be sold', see *Theb.* 739 σπείρας ἔτλη and note there.—δουλίας μάξης βίᾳ *in spite of the slaves' porridge*. Heracles, as a great feeder, would feel the more this sort of privation. Hence the saying, which Clytemnestra coarsely applies to the case of the enslaved princess. The fare is personified as a kind of adversary.

1026. οὖν implies that other hypotheses are dismissed and this hypothesis, 'that one is to be a slave', is taken instead (see on v. 681). In English 'if that fate *must* fall to one'. A scholium rightly explains the meaning by filling up the ellipse καλὸν μὲν, φησί, μὴ πειραθῆναι δουλείας, εἰ δὲ πειρώτῳ τις, κἀλλιον ἀρχαιοπλούτοις δουλεύειν. Cf *Chor.* 563 foll. καὶ δὴ οὗτος ἀν...δέξαιτο· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀμείψω 'if I do enter' etc., *Soph. O. T.* 851 εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐκτρέψαιτο 'even if he should diverge somewhat' etc., and passages collected in Paley's note—ἐπιρρέποι the optative puts the case as an imaginary general supposition.

1028. ἤμυσαν καλῶς literally 'have made a good heap', i.e. become suddenly rich; probably a phrase from mining.

thou: since Zeus of his mercy hath set thee in a house, where thou mayst share the holy water in thy place with the crowd of slaves at the altar of stead and store. Descend from the car, and be not proud. They say that Alcmena's son himself was sold, and still bore up in spite of the slave's low fare. If it so fall that one needs must take that state, masters not new to wealth are a thing to be thankful for. They to whom a rich pile hath come by surprise are to their slaves cruel always and over-strict. From us thou art receiving what custom bids.

*An Elder.* 'Tis to thee she speaks, and plainly. She waits for thee. And maybe, since thou art in the toils of fate, thou shouldst obey, if it may be,—though maybe thou wilt not.

*Cl.* Nay, if her foreign tongue is anything less uncouth than a swallow's twitter, my reason urged is spoken within her understanding.

*Eld.* Go with her. She urges what, as things are, is best. Obey, arise, and leave the chariot.

*Cl.* I have no leisure, you may know, to be thus dallying

This sense of ἀμῶν (*sweep together*) is more common in the compounds ἐαμῶμαι, συναμῶμαι, etc., but occurs also in later literature for the simple verb (see L. and Sc. s.v.).—ἐκ θερισμοῦ (schol.) has the advantage of giving to ἀμῶν an older sense. But a harvest is not a likely type of sudden and unexpected gain.

1029. ὡμότε καὶ παράσταθμοι *crude and over-exacting*; 'exceeders of the proper standard': cf. παράνομος.—*Cod. Farn.* παρὰ στάθμην.

1030. *Thou art receiving from us the treatment due by custom*, in being invited to share the family worship. See on v. 1020.

1031. σολ. παῖσαι. The participle is principal, παύεται adding only the notion that she waits for compliance — σαφῇ: only too plain, as they think.

1032. ἄν. πείθοι' ἄν. The optative with ἄν is a gentle imperative, properly a suggestion of something which may be done. The courtesy of the speaker throws into relief the harshness of the queen, and is emphasized by the anticipatory ἄν.—ἀλῶσα (C. G. Haupt).

1033. εἰ πείθοιο: a further qualification, *if thou wouldst* (obey); see v. 1393. ἀπειθολῆς δ' (ἄν) ἴσως. *i.e.* though I can understand it if you do not. ἄν is carried on as in Soph. *O.T.* 937 ἡδοιο μὲν, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄν; ἀσχάλλοις δ' ἴσως: literally 'perhaps thou mayst disobey'.

1034. μὴ χελιδόνος δίκην ἀγνώτα lit. 'not as a swallow's unintelligible'. The negative belongs to χελιδόνος δίκην, not to φωνῇν βάρβαρον κεκτημένην. The queen holds an opinion, which still, though not professed, is often betrayed, that her own language is essentially rational, and that any human speech must bear so much analogy to it, as to make it intelligible, if *spoken simply and clearly*.—For the swallow, cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 688, *Birds* 1681.

1036. *The persuasions I urge are spoken within her understanding*. Again the participle is principal, as in v. 1031.

1037. τῶν παρεστώτων 'of what the circumstances allow', *P. V.* 232, Aristoph. *Knights* 30 (Wecklein).

1039. θυραῖαν is a substantive, like τροπαία (see διςσεβῇ τροπαίαν v. 219)



- τρίβειν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου 1040  
 ἔστηκεν ἤδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός,  
 ὥς οὔ ποτ' ἐλπίσασι τήνδ' ἔξειν χάριν·  
 σὺ δ' εἴ τι δράσεις τῶνδε, μὴ σχολὴν τίθει.  
 εἰ δ' ἀξυνήμων οὔσα μὴ δέχει λόγον,  
 σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῃ χερί. 1045  
 XO. ἐρμηνέως ἔοικεν ἡ ξένη τοροῦ  
 δεῖσθαι· τρόπος δὲ θηρὸς ὥς νεαιρέτου.  
 ΚΑ. ἡ μαίνεται γὰρ καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν,  
 ἥ τις λιποῦσα μὲν πόλιν νεαίρετον  
 ἥκει, χαλινὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν, 1050  
 πρὶν αἵματηρὸν ἐξαφρίζεσθαι μένος.  
 οὐ μὴν πλέω ρίψας ἀτιμασθήσομαι.  
 XO. ἐγὼ δ', ἐποικτείρω γάρ, οὐ θυμώσομαι.  
 ἴθ', ὦ τάλαινα, τόνδ' ἐρημώσας ὄχον,  
 ἑκοῦσ' ἀνάγκη τῇδε καίνισον ζυγόν. 1055

1048. ἡ

1051—1158. Readings of M.

1052 μὴ (μὴν m).

and *εὐναία* (= *εὐνή*) An ellipse of *τριβὴν* can scarcely be supposed, when the verb *τρίβειν*, from which it is to be supplied, follows, and at such a distance. But apparently the ellipse became stereotyped and thus formed a popular substantive *θυράια* *gadding, staying out of the house*. For a parallel see *Theb.* 692 *τροπαία χρονία* *ἵσως ἀν' ἔλθοι θελεμιστέρῃ πνεύματι*, where *πνοή*, lost by fixed ellipse in *τροπαία*, reappears in *πνεύματι*, as here *τριβή* in *τρίβειν*.—*σχολήν* Dobree

1040. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου κτλ. literally 'for as to the matters of the central hearth, the sheep are already placed', i.e. 'the state of our sacrifice within is that the sheep' etc.—For τὰ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου, grammatically in a loose apposition to the sentence *ἔστηκεν κτλ.*, cf. v. 995 τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων and v. 821 τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ σὸν φρόνημα. So Peile and others rightly; but μὲν nevertheless answers to δέ in v. 1043 (Hermann)—

The alternative is to take τὰ as a demonstrative anticipating *μῆλα* (Monro, *Hom. Grammar* §§ 258, 259) and *ἐστίας* as a locative with *ἔστηκεν*. But the locative uses of the genitive (see Monro, *Hom. Grammar* § 149) do not seem to justify this; *ἐστίας ἔστηκεν* should mean 'stand on the altarside' or 'in the altar part' of something—*μεσομφάλου* refers here to the position of the altar in the centre of the *αὐλή*, or court of the palace, within. But since the word occurs in the tragedians repeatedly as the title of the sanctuary at Delphi (*Theb.* 732 etc., *Eur. Ion* 462 has the exact phrase *μεσόμφαλος ἐστία*), and this is the only place where it is applied to anything else, we should look for some intention. Cassandra (see the sequel) is wearing her robes and insignia as prophetess of Apollo, is dressed in fact as the Pythia. To this, apparently, Clytemnestra mocking refers: 'as for a *ἐστία μεσόμφαλος*, that is all ready; if

abroad. For the hearth, 'the central hearth', hath its victims already placed, for the sacrifice of the fire—since of the present joy there was no expectation! And thou, if thou wilt take part in this, must not delay. If for want of understanding thou takest not what I say, then with thy foreign hand converse instead of voice (?).

*Eld.* An interpreter, and a plain one, the strange lady doth indeed seem to want. She hath the air of a beast new-taken.

*Cl.* 'Aye, mad she is, and listens to her folly. She comes here from a new-taken town, and yet she has not the sense to bear the bridle, until she foam her humour away in blood! But I will waste words no more, to be so scorned! [*Exit.*

*Eld.* And I, for I pity her, will not be angry. Come now, unhappy, come down from where thou ridest, and take on thee willingly the new yoke of hard fate.

*you, the prophetic, mean to take your part, you must come at once'.*

1041. πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός· perhaps *for the sacrifice of the fire, i.e. for the feast* which they were already holding in honour of the beacon (πῦρ as in *vv.* 481, 593). This, says the queen, they had commenced before, not expecting (naturally) to have 'the present joy' of seeing the king arrive close after his message. τῇνδε has an emphasis.—The received interpretation of πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός, so far as any is received, has been 'to be slain for the fire', *i.e.* for burning on the altar. But there is a long list of corrections, πάρος *before* (Musgrave) the least unsatisfactory. As taken above, the words are certainly obscure, but may not this be intentional?

1042. ὥς οὐποτ' ἔλπισαι *as it was never expected, literally 'as for persons not having any expectation'.* The absence of a defining pronoun gives the same force as the English passive.—Some take *v.* 1042 to mean 'as for an unexpected triumph'. But surely this could not account for the fact that the victims were *ready*.

1044. εἰ *since.* Clytaemnestra explains her command by gesture.

1045. Doubtful. Neither the apodotic εἰ nor the emphatic οὐ is satisfactory; *Eum.* 888 is not parallel. And how should Cassandra answer without understanding? Wecklein refers σέ to the elder, who is to explain Clytaemnestra's words by signs. In that case we should suppose that the sentence is impatiently broken off at λόγον.—φράζει *signify your meaning.* See Herod. 4. 113 καὶ φωνῆσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, οὐ γὰρ συνίεσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἐφράζε (Wecklein).

*ib.* Cassandra takes no notice of the queen, but her bearing and gestures begin to express a great horror. The elders understand nothing: Clytaemnestra understands only too well. Perceiving her imprudence and danger, she quits the stage hastily as if in indignation at the captive's perversity.

1048. κλύει *listens to, obeys*

1051. αἱματηρὸν predicate, *in blood.*

1055. *Take on thee without resistance the new yoke of this necessity* ἀνάγκη a possessive dative. The ἀνάγκη is personified as imposing the yoke. For the antithesis ἐκούσ' ἀνάγκη (do willingly what must be done) see *v.* 934.—ἐκούσ' Robertello.

## ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

- ὅτοτοτοτοῖ ποποῖ δᾶ. στρ α΄.  
 ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.
- XO. τί ταῦτ' ἀνωτότυζας ἀμφὶ Λοξίου;  
 οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὥστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν.
- KA. ὅτοτοτοτοῖ ποποῖ δᾶ. ἀντ. α΄. 1060  
 ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.
- XO. ἦ δ' αὔτε δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ  
 οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν.
- KA. Ἄπολλον Ἄπολλον στρ β΄.  
 ἀγνιᾶτ', ἀπόλλων ἐμός· 1065  
 ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον.
- XO. χρήσειν ἔοικεν ἀμφὶ τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν.  
 μένει τὸ θεῖον δουλίᾳ παρ' ἐν φρενί.
- KA. Ἄπολλον Ἄπολλον ἀντ. β΄.  
 ἀγνιᾶτ', ἀπόλλων ἐμός. 1070  
 ᾧ ποῖ ποτ' ἤγαγές με; πρὸς ποίαν στέγην;
- XO. πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν. εἰ σὺ μὴ τόδ' ἐννοεῖς,  
 ἐγὼ λέγω σοι· καὶ τὰδ' οὐκ ἐρεῖς ψύθη.
- KA. ᾧ ᾧ στρ γ΄.  
 μισόθεον μὲν οὔν, πολλὰ συνίστορα, 1075  
 αὐτοφόνα κακὰ κάρτα· ναί,  
 ἀνδροσφαγέιον, παιδιορραντήριον.
- XO. ἔοικεν εὖρις ἢ ξένη κυνὸς δίκημ

1076. καρτάναι.

1077. ἀνδρὸς σφάγιον καὶ πεδιορραντήριον.

1056. Cassandra leaves the chariot and comes forward, away from the palace. The prophetic frenzy is upon her, and she sees both the past and the future of the bloody house.—ποποῖ δᾶ The origin and original meaning of these exclamations is uncertain. δᾶ is commonly identified with a form for γὰρ.—*rosol* Dindorf; *πόποι* others.

1057. Ἄπολλον. The story is given below, vi. 1201.

1061. δὲ yet, where prose would use ἀλλά.

1065. ἀπολλων ἐμός ἀπώλεσας γὰρ, bringing out the suggestion of the name, 'οὐ μόλις 'more than enough' to deserve the name.—ἀγνιᾶτα, voc. of ἀγνιάτης; addressing (as a new-comer to the house?) the guardian Apollo before the door in the street (*ἀγνιά*). So Polyntes leaving his father's house addresses his farewell specially to the Φοῖβος Ἀγυεύς (Eur.

*Cassandra.* Ah!...O God!...Apollo, O Apollo!

*Eld.* What means this sad cry on the name of Loxias? It suits him not to meet a singer so melancholy.

*Cass.* Ah!...O God!...Apollo, O Apollo!

*Eld.* Once more the ill-omened cry, and upon that god, one all unfit for a scene of lamentation!

*Cass.* Apollo, God of the Gate, a very Apollo to me! Thou hast more than proved thy name, before and now again.

*Eld.* She will prophesy, methinks, upon her own miseries. The soul retains that gift, when all but that is slave.

*Cass.* Apollo, God of the Gate, a very Apollo to me! Ah, where, where hast thou led me? Oh, what house should this be?

*Eld.* The palace of Atreus sure it is. That, if thou conceivest it not, I tell to thee: and thou canst not say it is false.

*Cass.* Ah no, ah no, an abominable place, full of guilty secrets...yea, of unnatural murders...aye verily, a place of human sacrifice, sprinkled with blood of babes!

*Eld.* The strange woman doth indeed seem keen as a hound

*Phoen.* 631, see also *Ar. Vesp.* 869).

1066. ἀπώλεσας thou hast been a destroyer.

1067. χρήσαν: i.e. she is about to 'declaim' in the style of inspiration. The first effect of this is to diminish their sympathy; they are even disposed to sneer (*vv.* 1072—73). Their attitude towards μαντική is the common attitude, a dislike between fear and contempt.

1068. *The soul retains inspiration, when all is slave but that.* δουλικά παρ' ἐν literally 'slave-like save one thing' or 'with one exception'; for the use of παρὰ see L. and Sc. s. v. The Greeks viewed the δούλος as something in nature different from the ἐλεύθερος, something between the complete man and the mere animal, and also held that, as Homer says, enslavement changed the nature, brutalizing and debasing it to the new condition. Of this the elders suppose themselves to be witnessing a signal illustration: Cassandra, they think, is scarcely rational; she can neither understand nor signify her thoughts. But a

slave might be 'possessed' no less than the free. 'The spiritual faculty is the last to go'. But the sarcasm recoils, as is the intention, upon the speakers.—δουλικά παρ' ἐν Schütz.

1071. ἤγαγες: as ἀγ-νίδης.—ποταν; (1) *to what a house* (this is meant), (2) *to what house* (hence the reply).

1072. 'If thou (the prophetess) perceivest not that, I can tell it thee; and thou wilt not find it untrue'.

1075. πολλὰ συνίστορα full of guilty secrets: συνίστορα acc. sing. (from συνειδέσθαι τι ἐαυτῷ to have a thing upon the conscience) takes the construction (πολλά) of a participle. Kuhner, *Gr. Grammar* § 409, note 4 a.—κακὰ, in apposition to πολλά.

1076. See Appendix U.

1077. ἀνδρσφαγεῖον Dobree: παιδοφραντήριον: compare παιδίον (M) for πεδίον *v.* 309. The word is a compound like ἀνδρσφαγεῖον, made by the poet for the occasion: a place where human beings are sacrificed, where babes are bled for the sprinkling, both σφάζειν and ράβειν being used as terms of ritual. The

εἶναι, ματεύει δ' ὦν ἀνευρήσει φόνον.

ΚΑ. μαρτυρίοισι γὰρ τοῖσδ' ἐπιπείθομαι· ἀντ. γ'. 1080

κλαιόμενα τὰ βρέφη σφαγὰς  
ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας.

ΧΟ. ἦμεν κλέος σου μαντικὸν πεπυσμένοι,  
ἦμεν· προφήτας δ' οὔτινας μαστεύομεν.

ΚΑ. ἰὼ ποποῖ, τί ποτε μῆδεται; στρ. δ'. 1085

τί τόδε νέον ἄχος μέγα  
μέγ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσδε μῆδεται κακὸν  
ἄφερτον φίλοισιν,  
δυσίατον; ἀλκὰ δ'  
ἐκάς ἀποστατεῖ.

1090

ΧΟ. τούτων αἰδρὶς εἰμι τῶν μαντευμάτων.  
ἐκεῖνα δ' ἔγνω· πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις βοᾷ.

ΚΑ. ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς; ἀντ. δ' 1095

τὸν ὁμοδέμνιον πόσιν  
λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα—πῶς φράσω τέλος;  
τάχος γὰρ τόδ' ἔσται.  
προτείνει δὲ χεῖρ' ἐκ  
χερὸς ὀρεγομένα.

ΧΟ. οὐπω ξυνῆκα· νῦν γὰρ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων  
ἐπαργέμοισι θεσφάτοις ἀμηχανῶ.

1100

ΚΑ. ἔ ἐ παπαῖ παπαῖ, στρ. ε' 1105

τί τόδε φαίνεται;  
ἦ δίκτυόν τι Ἰδίου.  
ἀλλ' ἄρκυς ἦ ξύνευνος, ἦ ξυναιτία.

1079. ματεύει. ἀν εὐρήση

1080. μαρτυρίοισι. τοῖσδε πεπειθόμαι.

1081. τᾶδε.

1084. ἦμεν.

1086. ἄχθος (ἀχος m)

1097. χεῖρ corr. to χεῖρ'.

1098. χεῖρδς.

1103. τί γ'

children of Thyestes (v. 1081) were slain as Agamemnon is about to be slain, under the pretext of a sacrificial feast (see v. 1592).—πεδορραντήριον 'a place where the floor is sprinkled' is generally

allowed to be faulty: the MS reading may have come from an attempt to restore the metre, destroyed by the misspelling πεδιορραντήριον.

1079. εἶναι with emphasis as in 1047.



upon a scent She is on a track of murder where she will find.

*Cass.* Yes, there is the evidence that I trust upon! See yonder babes, weeping their sacrifice, their flesh roasted and eaten by their sire!

*Eld.* We had heard of thy fame as prophetess, had heard of it we seek none to speak for thee.

*Cass.* O God!...What is this, what purpose of strange woe, horrible, horrible, that she purposeth here within? Woe to her nearest, woe beyond remedy, and no help nigh!

*Eld.* This prophesying is beyond my knowledge. The other I knew, for all the town is loud with it.

*Cass.* O cruel! Wilt thou do it? The partner of thy bed, wilt thou cleanse him with lustration, and then—oh, how can I say it? Aye, soon it will be done. She is reaching forth, she is stretching hand after hand!

*Eld.* I understand not yet. Then hints, now oracles blind perplex me still.

*Cass.* Ah!....

What appeareth now? Surely a net of Death! Nay, rather the snare is she, who shared the bed, who shares the crime.

—ματεύει. literally 'she is seeking the blood of those of whom she will find the blood'. The elders, at first not impressed, become grave at the definite allusion (παιδιορραντήριον) to the crime of Atreus.—ματεύει *f*, *h*, ἀνευρήσει Porson.

1080. μαρτυροῦσι Pauw, τοῖσδ' ἐπι-πέθομαι Abresch.

1084. προφήτας *i.e.* μάρτυρας, literally τοὺς λέγοντας ἡμῖν περὶ σοῦ (schol.) or rather ὑπὲρ σοῦ. The word by itself does not mean μάντις, though a μάντις is προφήτης θεοῦ—ἦμεν may be right, as an emphatic repetition of the verb. The speakers, displeased, wish to silence Cassandra, whom they take to be merely displaying her powers, with the assurance that they know them by reputation. ἦδη (Housman) is not improbable, nor τὸ μὲν for ἦμεν in *v* 1083 (Headlam)—τούτων προφήτας Weil. 'prophets (?) of

these things'.

1085—1147. She sees in vision from point to point the murder of Agamemnon and her own death.

1092. ἐκείνα: τὰ περὶ Θούστου schol. See *v*. 1075.

1097 *She*, 'the murderess'.—χερὸς later MSS.—χερὸς ὀρέγματα Hermann, but see Appendix II.

1099. *To the perplexity of hints has succeeded that of oracles blind.* *Vv.* 1093—98 are less vague than *vv.* 1085—90, but stop short (*v*. 1095), as if the seer could not see her way.

1101 *She* sees the enfolding of the king in the robe (*v*. 1381).

1103 τι Ἀΐδου Dindorf.

1104. The murderess herself is the true snare: δίκτυον properly a *cast-net*, ἀρκυς a *stake-net*, but the distinction must not be pressed.—ἡ ξύνυκτος, ἡ ξυναιτία *the*

- φόνου στάσις δ' ἀκόρεστος γένει 1105  
κατολολυξάτω  
θύματος λευσίμου.
- ΧΟ. ποίαν Ἐρινὺν τήνδε δώμασιν κέλει στρ  
ἐπορθιάζειν; οὐ μετ' φαιδρύνει λόγος·  
ἐπὶ δὲ καρδίαν ἔδραμε κροκοβαφῆς 1110  
σταγών, ἄτε καιρία πτώσιμος  
ξυνανύτει βίου  
δύντος αὐγαῖς· ταχεί-  
α δ' ἅτα πέλει.
- ΚΑ. ᾄ, ᾄ, ἰδοὺ ἰδοῦ· ἀντ. ε'. 1115  
ἄπεχε τῆς βοῶς  
τὸν ταῦρον· ἐν πέπλοισιν  
μελαγκέρῳ λαβούσα μηχανήματι

1111. καὶ δορία.

partner of the bed, the partner of the crime. ξύνευνος: wife or paramour? Rather both.—ξυναιτία is also explained to mean 'accomplice of the δίκτυον, of the fatal robe'. This cannot be the whole meaning, as it does not satisfy the correspondence of ξόνευνος..ξυναιτία, but it is perhaps suggested also. In such a scene we must not seek explanations too precise. The language is not meant to be clear.—Others punctuate thus . ξυναιτία φόνου. στάσις. : but see next note.

1105. φόνου στάσις Chorus of Death. φόνου is necessary; without definition στάσις would not suggest the following question ποίαν Ἐρινύν;—ἀκόρεστος (φόνου) γένει: literally 'insatiable of blood, to the race'.—ἀκόρετος Bothe, perhaps rightly, though the form is not extant, nor (in my opinion) proved. See Appendix II.

1107. κατολολυξάτω θύματος λευσίμου raises the solemn cry over sacrifice to be slain by stoning. The context suggests that θύμα λεύσιμον should mean the murder, called so metaphorically, but why, or

what to a Greek θύμα λεύσιμον would suggest, is very obscure. Sacrifice by stoning is traceable in tradition. Thus at Condylea in Arcadia the name of the local goddess *Artemis the Strangled* ('Ἀπαγχομένη) was explained by a story that some children, having in play pretended to strangle the image with a rope, were stoned, and the people suffered plagues in consequence, till they consulted the Pythia, who condemned the stoning of the children and imposed expiations (Pausanias 8. 23. 6). At Troezen again a feast called *Λιθοβολία* was celebrated in honour, it was said, of two virgins from Crete, who in the confusion of a riot were stoned by the opposite faction (στασιασάντων δὲ ὁμοίως τῶν ἐν τῇ πέλει ἀπάντων καὶ ταύτας φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν καταλευσθῆναι Paus. 2. 32. 2). These stories apparently refer to former customs of human sacrifice; and at Troezen the persons by whom the rite was performed were called a στάσις (at least this would account for the story about στασιῶται), which may throw light upon στάσις here. In human sacrifices

Now let the Chorus of Death, who thirst for the blood of the race, raise their ritual cry over their victim stoned

*Eld.* What fiend is this, whom thou biddest sing triumph over the house? Thou lookest not glad thyself at the word. Gone to thy heart is the pale drop, even such as from a mortal wound drips slow and slower, when life's light sets and death is coming quick.

*Cass.* Ah! Ah! See, see!.....

Keep the bull from the cow! She hath caught him in a vesture, and gores him with her black, crafty horn. He falls in

stoning would be a technical way of avoiding the pollution of bloodshed (since the act is not done by any one hand and does not necessarily shed the blood as σφαγή does). It seems therefore not impossible that the murder is compared to a 'sacrifice by stoning' or human sacrifice, over which the ring of fiends, who perform it, are bidden to rejoice.—To refer *θύμα λεύσιμον* to the imagined stoning of *Clytaemnestra* by the people is unsatisfactory. The death of *Clytaemnestra* is not here relevant, and a false prediction would spoil the effect.—*λουσίμου* (an allusion to the bath) E. A. L. M. (*Class. Rev.* v. p. 388) *γενσίμου* toothsome, Tucker, *ib.* xi. 404.

1109. οὐ με: see next note.

1110—1114. *καίρῳ πτώσιμος* Dindorf, literally 'shed so as to be mortal', see v. 1342. *καὶ δορὶ πτώσιμος*, 'even such as from a spear-wound', is also possible.—*ξυνανύτει ἀγῶαίς* literally 'ceases (dripping) as the light ceases', the wound ceasing to bleed as the eyes close in death.—*ταχέϊα δ' ἄτα πέλει*. For the independent clause see v. 1089 *ἀλκὰ δὲ κτλ.* 'while help is far'.—The description is of one seized with intense horror and turning, as we say, 'pale as death'. The paleness of the dying face is attributed to 'pale' blood.—With *οὐ με φαιδρύνει*, this description might seem to refer to the speaker himself. The transition to such terrible emotion on the

part of the Chorus would be strangely sudden, nor does their next speech (v. 1122) show any such feeling, but expresses as before merely bewilderment and vague apprehension. Perhaps therefore we should read *οὐ σὲ*, 'thou lookest not glad thyself at what thou sayest'. And in any case the description must refer to Cassandra, to whom the vision now begins to show the striking of the murderous stroke.

1118 *With her crafty weapon, her black horn*—*μηχανήματι*: the axe.—*μελαγκέρῳ* does not mean that the *μηχάνημα* is black-horned, but that it is, as it were, a black horn.—Dr Wecklein, reading *ἐν πέπλων νιν μελαγκέρῳ κτλ.*, takes the *μελαγκέρων μηχανήμα* to be the enveloping robe, which, as Agamemnon stretches out his arms in it, 'has an appearance as of something black-horned'. In favour of this it must be admitted that *λαβοῦσα*, if not constructed with *μελαγκέρῳ μηχανήματι*, is irregularly placed. Nor is the grotesqueness of the conception objectionable. But it is difficult not to suppose that the horn which gores is the axe which strikes.—It has also been referred to 'the murderess advancing with her head bent down and shrouded in the black robe which she holds outstretched in her protruded hands', *Class. Rev.* v. p. 388.—The scholia record both *μελαγκέρῳ* and *μελαγκέρων* (i.e. *τὸν μελαγκέρων ταῦρον*).

- τύπτει· πίτνει δ' ἐν ἐνύδρῳ τεύχει.  
 δολοφόνου λέβη- 1120  
 τος τύχαν σοι λέγω.
- ΧΘ. οὐ κομπάσαιμ' ἂν θεσφάτων γνώμων ἄκρος ἀντ.  
 εἶναι, κακῷ δέ τῳ προσεικάζω τάδε.  
 ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τίς ἀγαθὰ φάτις  
 βροτοῖς στέλλεται; κακῶν γὰρ διαὶ 1125  
 πολυεπεῖς τέχναι  
 θεσπιωδὸν φόβον  
 φέρουσιν μαθεῖν.
- ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας στρ. ζ'.  
 κακόποτμοι τύχαι. 1130  
 τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῶ  
 πάθος ἐπεγχείασα.  
 ποῖ δὴ με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἤγαγες,  
 οὐδέν ποτ' εἰ μὴ ξυνθανομένην· τί γάρ;
- ΧΘ. φρενομανής τις εἰ θεοφόρητος, ἄμ- στρ. α'. 1135  
 φὶ δ' αὐτὰς θροεῖς  
 νόμον ἄνομον, οἷά τις ξουθὰ  
 ἀκόρεστος βοᾷς, φεῦ,  
 ταλαίναις φρεσὶν  
 \*Ἴτυν \*Ἴτυν στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς 1140  
 ἀηδῶν βίον.
- ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας ἀντ. ζ'.  
 μόρον ἀηδόνας.  
 περέβαλον γάρ οἱ

1119. Omits ἐν.

1125. δὲ.

1143. ἀηδόνας μόρον.

1144. περιβάλλοντο γὰρ οἱ

1119. ἐν ἐνύδρῳ Schutz.—τεύχει·  
 κότει Blomfield. See Appendix II.

1123. εἶναι· see *vv.* 1047, 1079, 'A  
 very good judge of the oracular I cannot  
 boast that I am, but' etc.

1125. κακῶν διαὶ (Hermann): 'through  
 woes' i.e. 'in woe throughout'.—τέχναι.  
 the 'science' or 'skill' of the μάντις: cf.

τέχναι Κάλχαντος in *v.* 260; the reference  
 is particularly (as πολυεπεῖς shows; see  
*ἔπος, ἔπη*) to the phraseology and metrical  
 form of prophetic utterance. The art of  
 the μάντις was just beginning to decline  
 in repute among the educated in the time  
 of Aeschylus.

1132. ἐπεγχείασα. 'as a drop' or

a vessel of water. In a treacherous murderous caldron is done the thing I tell thee.

*Eld.* I cannot boast high skill in judging words inspired, but these I judge to figure some ill. But by this way what good word ever is sent to man? It is all ill, a skill of manifold phrases, offering for knowledge a terrifying chant.

*Cass.* Alas, alas, for the hapless doom of a wretch, for mine own fate! It shall have its drop in the lament.

Where is this thou hast brought me, a hapless wretch, just only to die with thee, and nothing more?

*Eld.* Thou art in some sort crazed by the god who hurries thy thoughts, and wailest thyself in a wild tune, like some brown nightingale, that with singing never sated laments, alas, heart-sore, for Itys, Itys, all her sorrow-filled days.

*Cass.* O, but to die as a musical nightingale! For her the

'ingredient more' added to the lament for the king. See a somewhat similar metaphor in *v.* 17 —Of the corrections proposed to adjust the metre to the antistrophe, *ἔπεγχέαι* 'so as to pour it on' (Campbell, Sidgwick) is the least violent, but the grammar is dubious. *ἔπεγχύδαν* Headlam (*Class. Rev.* XII. 247), supposing the participle to be an explanatory note, and citing *οὐ διαρρύδαν' ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ διαρρέων* *Cho.* 65 schol., etc. See however Appendix II.

1133. An apostrophe to Agamemnon (Paley), not to Apollo: the king is already in her mind, *τὸ ἐμὸν* in *v.* 1131 being antithetic to *τὸ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος*: and note *ξυνθανομένην* (*σοι*). On the stage, action would explain.—*ἦ γὰρ* points to the name *Ἀγαμέμνων*: see *v.* 1071.

1134. *τί γάρ*, *what else?*

1138. *ἀκόρετος* *Ald.* See on *v.* 1105.

1140. *ἀμφιβαλῇ κακοῖς* together, *sorrow-filled*.

1144—1147. *περίβαλον*, the 'Aeolic' form for *περιέβαλον*, should be retained (Wecklein, comparing *Eum.* 637 *περὶ σκῆπτρον* M).—*γάρ* (?). Perhaps *τὸ γέ*, the article, or rather demonstrative pro-

noun, used to mark the antithesis. For examples in Homer, where this use of the anticipatory pronoun with various particles is characteristic, see *Monro, Homeric Gramm.* §§ 258—259, and for the combination with the dative pronoun see e.g. *Herod.* 3. 65 *τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξεργαστά μοι...οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι κρατέουσι τῶν βασιλῶν*.—The middle *περεβάλοτο* can hardly be right, meaning naturally 'to put on oneself'.—*ἀγῶνα*: literally 'a struggle', used, as in Euripides frequently, for what is terrible, critical, or both at once, e.g. *Hec.* 229 *παρέστηχ' ὡς ἔοικ' ἀγῶν μέγας*, *Med.* 366 *ἐρ' εἰς ἀγῶνες τοῖς νεωστὶ νυμφίοις*, *Supp.* 71 *ἀγῶν δδ' ἄλλος ἔρχεται*. So also *ἀγώνισμα* *Eur. El.* 987 *πικρὸν τε χθιδὺ τῶν νισμά μοι*. Here *agony*, the *quitting of life*; cf. *ἀγωνία agony*. The transformation to a bird was a *γλυκὺς ἀγῶν*.—*τε*, if right, expresses apposition, 'and therewith a sweet passage'. But perhaps we should read *γε*.—*αἰῶνα* is a conjecture suggested in M, but the antithesis is between the death which awaits Cassandra and the painless transformation of Philomela (Enger); and the 'sweet life' is not the point.—*σχιζομὸς* *cleaving, sundering*,



- πτεροφόρον δέμας 1145  
 θεοί, γλυκύν τ' ἀγῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ·  
 ἐμοὶ δὲ μίμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.  
 XO. πόθεν ἐπισσύτους θεοφόρους τ' ἔχεις ἀντ. α'.  
 ματαίους δύας,  
 τὰ δ' ἐπίφοβα δυσφάτῳ κλαγγᾷ 1150  
 μελοτυπεῖς ὁμοῦ τ' ὁρ-  
 θίοις ἐν νόμοις;  
 πόθεν ὄρους ἔχεις θεσπεσίας ὁδοῦ  
 κακορρήμονας;  
 KA. ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Πάριδος ὀλέθριοι στρ. η'. 1155  
 φίλων. ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν·  
 τότε μὲν ἀμφὶ σὰς αἰόνας τάλαω'  
 ἡνυτόμαν τροφαῖς·  
 νῦν δ' ἀμφὶ Κωκυτόν τε κάχερουσίους  
 ὄχθους ἔοικα θεσπιωδέσειν τάχα. 1160  
 XO. τί τόδε τορὸν ἄγαν ἔπος ἐφημίσω; στρ. β'.  
 νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων μάθοι.  
 πέπληγμαι δ' ὑπὸ δῆγματι φοινίῳ  
 †δυσαγγεῖ τύχα μινυρὰ θροομένας,  
 θραύματ' ἐμοὶ κλύειν. 1165  
 KA. ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὀλομένας ἀντ. η'.  
 τὸ πᾶν. ἰὼ πρόπυργοι θυσῖαι πατρὸς  
 πολυκανεῖς βοτῶν ποιονόμων· ἄκος δ'  
 οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν

1159—the end. Readings of f.

1164. μινύρα κακά.

combines the actual *wounding* with the *parting* of soul and body.

1148. πόθεν ἐπισσύτους θεοφόρους τε, *whence sent, and by whom imposed*, literally 'god-brought'.—Hermann omits τε.

1151. ὁμοῦ τε, *and at the same time*, marks an antithesis. They had called her utterance νόμον ἄνομον (v. 1137), *a wild tune*, literally 'an unordered order', νόμος being properly the *order* or

arrangement of notes in a tune. But they are forced to admit that there is 'method in it'.—δρόσιος signifies both *raised* in tone and *straightforward*, and was applied with both associations specially to military march music. The second meaning is here most prominent and suggests the following metaphor of the *road* and the *boundaries* or guiding-stones

1162. *A man new-born might under-*

gods did clothe in a winged form, a sweet passage and a tearless, while I must be parted by the steel's sharp edge.

*Eld.* Whence sent, by what power imposed, is thy vain agony, that thou shapest that fearful song with words so hard and harsh and yet with a march so clear? How findest thou the terms of woe which guide thine inspired way?

*Cass.* Alas, for the bridal of Paris, the doom of his kin! Ah, sweet Scamander, my native stream! Once on thy banks, ah me, was I nursed and grew. But now by the River of Wailing, aye, and of Woe, my prophet-voice, methinks, will be uttered soon.

*Eld.* What is this word thou hast spoken, only too plain? A man new-born might understand. I bleed beneath the wound of the piteous singer's breaking misery, which shatters me to hear it.

*Cass.* Alas, for the labour of Troy, Troy destroyed utterly! Alas, for my father's sacrifices in her behalf, so many grazing victims slain! They served not at all to save the town from

*stand.* The grammar of this sentence is archaic, but, in a proverbial phrase, not inadmissible (see on *v.* 557). νεογνός is a substantival adjective, ὁ νεόγονος. The partitive genitive, or rather genitive 'of distinction from', is the same which survives in the vocative phrases *δία γυναικῶν*, *φίλα γυναικῶν* etc., in *ἀριδείκετος ἀνδρῶν* (*Il.* 11. 248), and in the forms of emphasis *κακά κακῶν* (*things evil among evils*) etc. (Kühner, *Gr. Grammar* § 414, 5, b). νεογνός is treated (according to the meaning, ὁ νεώτατος ἀνθρώπων) as a superlative; 'a new-born one among human beings' is, in modern phrase, 'the youngest human intelligence'.—Lastly μάθοι falls under the following use "From acquiescence or willingness that something shall happen, the optative passes to *admission of possibility*, i.e. willingness to *suppose* or believe that the thing will happen...*Od.* 3. 231 *βεῖα θεοὶ γ' ἐθέλω καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σώσσαι*. This is said as a concession: 'we men must allow that a god can save even from afar'" (Monro, *Homeric Grammar* § 299

f.). Precisely so here: the meaning of the proverb is not *this is intelligible*, but *this must be allowed to be intelligible* or *I can no longer complain of obscurity*. See further Appendix II., and for proposed changes Wecklein's Appendix.

1163. ὑπὸ (ὕπαλ b, *ὅπως* Hermann) may conceivably be an imitation of the Homeric ὑπὸ δέσας etc., which though really explained by the digamma (ὕπο δέσας) must have seemed to Aeschylus an arbitrary lengthening by the ictus.—ὑπὸ is adverb, *quasi* ὑποπέπληγμαι.

1164. Perhaps *δυσάγει*. For the metaphors in *δυσάγει...θραύματα* cf. the Homeric *ἐπεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ*.—For *δυσάγης* from *ἀγῆ breaking* (*ἀγνυμι*) cf. *δυστυχής, τύχη*.—*δυσάγει* Canter.—*θραύματα...κλύειν* literally 'a shattering to hear'.—*μινυρὰ θροεμένας* Schutz: *κακά* appears to be an explanation.

1167. *πρόπυργοι* *before the town* or *on behalf of the town* (Blomfield)? Probably it would be truest to say that the first meaning is first intended, and then

- τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχειν παθεῖν, 1170  
 ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδω βαλῶ.
- ΧΟ. ἐπόμενα προτέροις τάδ' ἐπεφημίσω. ἀντ. β'.  
 καὶ τίς σε κακοφρονεῖν τίθη-  
 σι δαίμων ὑπερβαρῆς ἐμπίτνων,  
 μελίζειν πάθη γοερά θανατοφόρα. 1175  
 τέρμα δ' ἀμηχανῶ.
- ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμός οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων  
 ἔσται δεδορκῶς νεογάμου νύμφης δίκην,  
 λαμπρὸς δ' ἔοικεν ἡλίον πρὸς ἀντολὰς  
 πνέων ἐσῆξιν, ὥστε κύματος δίκην 1180  
 κλύειν πρὸς αὐγὰς τοῦδε πῆματος πολὺ  
 μεῖζον· φρενώσω δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.  
 καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνδρομῶς ἵχνος κακῶν  
 ῥινηλατούση τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων.  
 τὴν γὰρ στέγην τήνδ' οὐποτ' ἐκλείπει χορὸς 1185  
 ξύμφθογγος οὐκ εὐφωνος· οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει.  
 καὶ μὴν πεπωκῶς γ', ὡς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον,  
 βρότειον αἷμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει,  
 δύσπεμπτος ἔξω, ξυγγόνων Ἑρινύων.  
 ὕμνοῦσι δ' ὕμνον δώμασιν† προσήμεναι. 1190  
 πρῶταρχος ἄτην ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν,  
 εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ ἧψ' πατοῦντι δυσμενεῖς.

1172. ἐφημίσω.

1178. νύμφας.

1186. σύμθογγος

the second assumed by a tacit shifting of thought.

1170. τὸ μὴ κτλ. As the principal sentence (οὐδὲν ἐπῆρκεσαν) is negative, regular usage would require in the consecutive clause μὴ οὐ—ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχειν παθεῖν: i.e. ἔχειν παθεῖν ὥσπερ οὖν (ἔχει παθεῖν), 'to save the city from receiving such treatment as in fact she is receiving'. This sentence, if rightly given by *Florentinus* and *Venetius*, is analogous to the use of *ἵσθαι* δήποτε, e.g. *ἐπαθεῖς δ τι δήποτε* (*ἐπαθες*) 'you have been treated as you

have been': but no parallel use of ὥσπερ οὖν seems to be found.—The *Cod. Farn.* offers the conjecture ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν. Dr Wecklein objects that we should require either ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει ἔχειν or ὥσπερ οὖν ἔπαθε παθεῖν, as in v. 1287 *πράξασαν ὡς ἐπραξεν*, *Soph. O. T.* 1376 *βλαστοῦσ' ὅπως ἐβλασταν* etc. He suggests ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχειν ἔχει (i.e. ἔχειν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει).

1171. See Appendix V.

1172. ἐπεφημίσω Paley.

1173. τίς: 'and there is some power

such fate as now it hath; and I, the sick-brained, I shall soon be sent after the wise.

*Eld.* Thy latter words go along with those before. Some power there is who with over-bearing press maddens thee to sing of sorrows tending to death, though the end I cannot see.

*Cass.* See now, my prophecy shall not any more be like a bride new-wed looking forth from a veil. It shall come in bright as a fresh wind, blowing toward sunrise, and rolling wave-like against the light a woe far higher than this now. My teaching shall be by riddles no longer. And be ye witnesses with how close a scent I run in the track of the crimes done long ago.

For out of that house there never departs a choir of voices in unison not sweet, for the words are not fair. Aye, and they have drunk, to be the bolder, of human blood, and in the house they abide, hard to be turned away, a rout of sister-fiends. They besiege the chambers (?) and sing their song, with still-repeated burden denouncing the hated sin of him who defiled a brother's bed.

which' etc., i.e. there is inspiration in this and not mere wildness.—κακοφρονεῖν τίθῃσι μελίζειν maddens thee to sing, *quiai* κακοφρονεῖν τίθῃσιν, ὥστε μελίζειν, the infinitives being accumulated, which, separated as they are, is not objectionable. For the construction of τίθῃμι see L. and Sc. s.v. B 1. 4.—κακοφρονῶν, in malice, Schutz.—τέρμα goal, the same metaphor as in v. 1153.

1179. The metaphor changes to that of a strong wind at morning, under which the rolling waves of the sea are seen against the light of dawn. Cassandra, it may seem, recalls her recent voyage and the opening of this day. "λαμπρός the Greeks called a strong wind *brighi*, so here in any other language two words are required, one to be in antithesis to ἐκ καλυμμάτων, the other to suit the new metaphor of wind". Sidgwick.

1180 ἐσέξεν: 'its coming in' or 'entry shall be as of a clear fresh wind'. The expression is influenced by the remembrance marked in the previous note.—ἐσέξειν Bothe.

1181 κλύειν, i.e. κλύζειν, and perhaps an alternative form: cf the analogous pairs βλώω—βλόζω, φλώω—φλόζω—ἄλλειν J. A. Platt, *Class. Rev.* xi. p. 96.

1187. ὥς: ὥστε

1189 κῶμος Ἐρινύων βρότειον αἶμα ... ἔμνον: the figure foreshadows the Chorus of the *Eumenides*.

1190. δώμασιν προσήμεναι besieging the chambers (cf. πύργοις προσήσθαι) not 'sitting in the house'. ἐν δόμοις (v. 1188) therefore apparently means 'in the fore-court (αὐλή)', or perhaps in the hall (μέγαρον), δώματα being the inner rooms. But there is probably some error.—πώμασιν προσήμεναι, sitting at their cups (cf. κώπη προσήμενος v. 1617), is possible.—αἵμασιν προσήμεναι or δώμασιν προσήμενῃν (with ἄτην v. 1191) Weil.

1191. πρῶταρχος ἐν μέρῃ δέ i.e. πρῶταρχος μὲν ἐν μέρῃ δέ, literally 'beginning and in succession' or 'in succession from the first beginner'. The term ἀρχεῖν (ἔμνου, αἰδῆς, etc.) was conventional and almost technical, see e.g. Pindar, *Nem.* 3. 4—το μένοντί (σε) μελι-

ἤμαρτον ; ἢ τηρῶ τι τοξότης τις ὥς ;  
 ἢ ψευδόμαντίς εἰμι θυροκόπος φλέδων ;  
 ἐκμαρτύρησον προὔμοσας τό μ' εἰδέναι 1195  
 λόγῳ παλαιὰς τῶνδ' ἁμαρτίας δόμων.

ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς ἂν ὄρκος, πῆμα γενναίως παγέν,  
 παίωνιον γένοιτο ; θαυμάζω δέ σου,  
 πόντου πέραν τραφεῖσαν ἀλλόθρουν πόλιν  
 κυρεῖν λέγουσαν ὥσπερ εἰ παρεστάταις. 1200

ΚΑ. μάντις μ' Ἀπόλλων τῷδ' ἐπέστησεν τέλει....  
 προτοῦ μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν ἐμοὶ λέγειν τάδε....

γαρόων τέκτονες κόμων νεανίαί... ἄρχε δ' οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρόντι, θύγατερ, πολυδόκιμον ὕμνον : especially where as here there was a repetition and a burden to the song ; so in Theocritus 1. ἄρχετε βωκολικὰς, Μῶσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' αὐδᾶς. — αἶτην. ἀπέπτυσαν *they abominate the sin*, cry against it. The common formula of disgust was not ἀποπτύω but ἀπέπτυσα. — εὐνάς ἀδελφοῦ may be taken in apposition to αἶτην, the accusative to παροῦντι being supplied from it, or, perhaps better, simply with παροῦντι, *the defiler of a brother's bed*, the order being arranged to emphasize the words εὐνάς ἀδελφοῦ — *δυσμμενέας* "can be nominative or accusative, but it is better nominative, being (as Enger and Schneidewin observe) a grim allusion to their name *Εὐμμενέας*" (Sidgwick).—The reference is to the adultery of Thyestes with the wife of Atreus ; Atreus avenged himself by the 'banquet', for which in return vengeance is now about to be taken.—*πρώταρχον αἶτην*, depending on ὕμνοισι, *they sing of the original crime*, the conjecture of Triclinus (*Cod. Farn.*), seems to distinguish between the 'original' crime and the succeeding (*ἐν μέρει*) sin of Thyestes, and is generally explained by reference to earlier legends. But for the purpose of this play Atreus and Thyestes are the starting point. We should not introduce

here an obscure reference to stories which Aeschylus does not notice.

1193. τηρῶ 'watch for an opportunity' is used with phrases expressing the nature of the opportunity (a favourable moment, a wind, a dark night, etc.), and here absolutely, the nature of the opportunity, the time to shoot, being implied by the context. The metaphor is the same as in 'to speak *circumspectively*'. The second question (τηρῶ τι;) corrects the metaphor of the first (ἤμαρτον,). 'Missing' implies 'aiming', conjecture, or *taking a shot*. But Cassandra *knows* (v. 1195) ; and this, she says, may be seen in the manner of her affirmation. The quack will be vague at first and not hazard anything till he gets a hint ; he will 'watch, like one that shooteth'. Not so Cassandra, who in εὐνάς ἀδελφοῦ has gone without hesitation to a fact ancient, secret, and definite. Therefore she *knows*. The eagerness of the prophetess that her reputation should be attested is not the least pathetic feature in the situation.—εἰδέναι opposed to τοπάζειν as in v. 1368 and P. V. 947 ἐγὼ τὰδ' οἶδα.—*λέγῳ παλαιὰς οἰᾶ in story*.—If the emphatic meaning of εἰδέναι be missed, there is no connexion here. Hence the suspicion of τηρῶ (κυρῶ Ahrens), it being supposed that v. 1193 should mean 'Do I miss or hit?' Hence also τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι λόγῳ



Have I missed? Or do I at all take observation, like one that aimeth a shot? Or am I a false prophet, who babbles from door to door? Bear witness, swearing first, that I do verily *know* the ancient sins in the story of this house.

*Eld.* And how could an oath do good, being framed in its nature to hurt? But I find it strange in thee, that bred beyond the sea thou shouldst be as right about an alien city, as if thou hadst been there present.

*Cass.* The prophet-god it was who gave me this power, for...The time hath been when I dared not speak of it...

(Hermann), translated 'that I do not know by report' (τό μ' εἰδέναι μὴ λόγῳ?). But Cassandra has done nothing to disprove, if it be supposed likely, that she knew the facts λόγῳ.

1197 πῆμα γενναῖως παγὲν framed naturally to be a hurt. γενναῖως: 'according to its γέννα or nature', cf. Aristotle, *Hist. An.* 1. 1. 14 τὸ γενναῖον ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ἐξιστάμενον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως, and Hom. *Il.* 5. 253 σὺ μοι γενναῖον ἀλυσκάζοντι μάχεσθαι (L. and Sc. s.v.). The meaning is this: the essence of a δρκος is that it causes the person swearing falsely to suffer certain penalties; so Hesiod (*Theog.* 792) calls the Styx, as δρκος θεῶν, μέγα πῆμα θεοῖσι: *except in the case of falsehood it does not act at all*, and in that case, as was and still is the belief of superstition, *it acts mechanically* and without regard to qualifying considerations, such as *bona fides*. No one therefore should swear to a thing unless he is compelled to do so or has an object to gain. The speaker therefore prudently declines to swear to Cassandra's supernatural knowledge (which is not exactly proved after all), as the oath, he says, could do no good and would only expose the swearer unnecessarily to the danger of falsehood.—παῶνιον 'a thing of remedy'; the neuter better suits the antithesis between παῶνιον and πῆμα — πῆγμα γενναῖως παγὲν (a compact (?) honestly ratified), Auratus.

1198. θαυμάζω δέ. They admit that her accuracy is surprising.—σου: construed as in θαυμάζω τί τιςος 'to wonder at something in a person'. Here the accusative is represented by the following sentence κυρεῖν κτλ.—σε Auratus

1199. ἀλλόθρουν ..... ὥσπερ κτλ. 'should be as right on the subject of an alien town as if' etc.—κυρεῖν absolutely, *to hst*—ἀλλόθρουν πόλιν The object of λέγουσαν (the theme *speaks of*, cf. λέγων χειμῶνα v. 653) is accommodated by a bold compression of phrase to εἰ παρυστάτεϊς: *quasi λέγουσαν τὰ ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει γινόμενα, ὥσπερ εἰ παρήσθα οὐπερ ἐγένετο*.

1201. For better warrant of her prophetic power, she begins to relate from whom and how dearly she purchased it, but pauses in an agony of shame. The Argives, who have heard the story by rumour (v. 1083), prompt her with a question, observing, as an excuse for pressing her, that delicacy was better suited to her former condition than her present! In spite of their sympathy they insist on gratifying their Greek (perhaps rather Athenian) curiosity. We may compare the scene in which the men of Colonus insist on forcing a confession from the reluctant Oedipus (Soph. *O.C.* 510 foll.). Here the woman sacrifices her modesty to her intense desire for belief.—On the text and explanation of the story see Appendix W.

- ΧΟ. μῶν καὶ θεός περ ἱμέρῳ πεπληγμένος ;  
 ἀβρύνεται γὰρ πᾶς τις εὖ πράσων πλέον.  
 ΚΑ. ...ἀλλ' ἦν παλαιστῆς κάρτ' ἔμοι πνέων χάριν. 1205  
 ΧΟ. ἦ καὶ τέκνων εἰς ἔργον ἤλθετον νόμφι ;  
 ΚΑ. ξυναινέσασα Λοξίαν ἐψευσάμην.  
 ΧΟ. ἦδη τέχναισιν ἐνθέοις ἤρημένη ;  
 ΚΑ. ἦδη πολίταις πάντ' ἐθέσπιζον πάθῃ.  
 ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' ἀνακτος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότῳ ; 1210  
 ΚΑ. ἔπειθον οὐδέν' οὐδέν, ὥς τάδ' ἤμπλακον.  
 ΧΟ. ἡμῶν γε μὲν δὴ πιστὰ θεσπίζειν δοκεῖς.  
 ΚΑ. ἰὸν ἰού, ὦ ὦ κακά.  
 ὑπ' αὖ με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνος  
 στροβεῖ ταράσσων φροιμίους—ἐφημένους... 1215  
 ὀράτε ; ...τούσδε...τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους...  
 νέους, ὀνείρων προσφερεῖς μορφώμασιν.  
 παῖδες θανόντες ὥσπερ εἰ πρὸς τῶν φίλων,  
 χεῖρας κρεῶν πλήθοντες οἰκείας βορᾶς  
 σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν', ἐποίκτιστον γέμος, 1220  
 πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες, ὧν πατὴρ ἐγεύσατο.  
 ἐκ τῶνδε ποινὰς φημὶ βουλευεῖν τινα  
 λέοντ' ἀναλκιν ἐν λέχει στρωφώμενον  
 οἰκουρόν, οἴμοι, τῷ μολόντι, δεσπότη

1220. γέμ<sup>ο</sup>.

1204. answers the scruple expressed in *v.* 1201, but it is not necessary to change the positions of *v.* 1201 and *v.* 1203. γὰρ introduces not a proof of what has been said, but a justification for saying it, for putting the preceding question.

1205. She continues, with an effort ; ἀλλὰ answers to μὲν in *v.* 1201.

1213. The agony of prophecy comes upon her again.

1214. ὄντοι M. Schmidt, Wecklein.—ὕπδ, an adverb, signifying the *unseen* and *gradual* coming on of the fit

1215. φροιμίους, *beginning* of greater

pain to come, as in *Theb.* 7.—ἐφημένους. May we not object to the general assumption that this word has come in by error from the next line? No doubt at φροιμίους the sentence, though grammatically complete, is rhythmically incomplete: a full stop after the fourth foot is rare, and φροιμίους wants an epithet. Also the sentence ἐφημένους κτλ. is mis-shapen and disarranged. But all this is part of the intended effect. Suddenly, in the very midst of her pain, the vision itself bursts upon her, and she points to it with broken exclamations.

*Eld.* For Apollo's self desired thee. Was it so? We are all more delicate in prosperity.

*Cass.* Yea, then, he wrought with me, and mighty was his charm.

*Eld.* And came ye too to the deed of kind in natural course?

*Cass.* I promised, but kept not faith with Loxias.

*Eld.* And had he won thee with inspiration already given?

*Cass.* Yes, already I prophesied to my people all that befell them.

*Eld.* How could the wrath of Loxias retrieve thee then?

*Cass.* After I did that wrong, I could never make any believe me.

*Eld.* To us however thou seemest a prophet worthy belief.

*Cass.* Ah!...Oh agony!

Again the fearful pangs of present vision grow on me, whirling my soul in a confused beginning of—There!...Sitting there!...do ye see them? Sitting before the house!...young children, like forms in a dream.

As infants slain by their parents they appear, their hands full of that meat of which he ate, whose own flesh it was, carrying, oh pitiable burden!, the hearts and inward parts, of which their father tasted.

And hence the vengeance, plotted, I tell you, now by a certain lion of a craven sort, who haunting the couch hath watched at home for him, alas, who is come, who is lord—for

1216 ὄρατε; best taken (with Hermann) as a question.—δόμοις ἐφημέρους 'sitting before' the house, *i.e.* as sup-  
plants at the door, or at the altar before  
the door; see βρέτας ἐφήμενος, *Eum.*  
412. For the construction cf. ἐφεισδάναι  
πόλεις to stand at a gate, ἐφεισδάναι πόλει  
to lie before a city (of an army), and see  
*Theb.* 525.

1218. Like children slain by those that  
should love them. This, with the reference  
to dream-phantoms, seems to presume a  
belief that the children of infanticides

haunted the house in this way, a belief  
very natural where, as in the historic age  
of Greece, infanticide was permitted but  
disliked —τε couples πλῆθοντες with  
ἐχοντες, and παῖδες...φίλων is a separate  
clause, qualifying the whole sentence  
and explained by what precedes.

1219. οἰκίας βοράς: because the flesh  
of the children was the flesh of the father  
himself.

1224. δεισπότη ζυγόν. The appel-  
lation and humble acknowledgment have  
here a bitterly ironical effect.

ἐμῷ· φέρειν γὰρ χρή τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν. 1225  
 νεῶν, τ' ἀπαρχος Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης  
 οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλῶσσα μισητῆς κυνός,  
 λέξασα κἀκτείνασα φαιδρόνους δίκην  
 ἄτης λαθραίου, τεύξεται κακῇ τύχῃ.  
 τοιάδε τόλμα, θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεύς. 1230  
 ἔστιν—τί νῦν καλοῦσα δυσφιλές δάκος  
 τύχοιμ' ἄν; ἀμφίσβαιναν, ἧ Σκύλλαν τινὰ  
 οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναυτίλων βλάβην,  
 θύονσαν Ἄιδου μητέρ'† ἄσπονδόν τ' ἄραν  
 φίλοις πνέουσαν; ὥς δ' ἐπωλολύξατο 1235  
 ἡ παντότολμος, ὥσπερ ἐν μάχης τροπῇ,  
 δοκεῖ δὲ χαίρειν νοστήμῃ σωτηρίᾳ.  
 καὶ τῶνδ' ὅμοιον εἴ τι μὴ πείθω· τί γάρ;  
 τὸ μέλλον ἤξει. καὶ σὺ μὲν τάχει παρῶν  
 ἄγαν γ' ἀληθόμαντιν οἰκτείρας ἐρείς. 1240

1228. καὶ κτείνᾳσα.

1230. τολμᾶ.

1231. δυσφιλεῖς

1226. νεῶν ἀναστάτης. literally 'being at once discomanded of his fleet and destroyer of Troy' The conjunctions τε...τε mark the connexion of the facts; he is ἀναστάτης Ἰλίου and νεῶν ἀπαρχος therefore also. The two descriptions are linked by the Trojan captive in bitter satire, the dispersion of the fleet was the direct consequence of the sacrilegious razing (ἀνάστασις) of Troy (vv. 350, 640), and on the dispersion of the fleet in turn depended the fate of Agamemnon himself (see the Introduction). Here (as at v. 532) the poet has in mind the destruction of Athens and its punishment at Salamis.—ἀπαρχος: from ἀρχή, cf. ἀπόπολις, ἀποστράτης etc., a privative governing νεῶν. Cf. Cho. 660 γυνή τ' ἀπαρχος and note there and (a precise parallel) Pers. 330 Κιλικῶν ἀπαρχος, having lost the Cilicians whom he commanded, the Cilician squadron having been destroyed or very severely damaged by the Athenians at Artemisium (Herod

8. 14). ἀπαρχος has been wrongly conjectured in all three places.

1227—1229 κἀκτείνασα Canter οἷα adverbial accusative, equivalent to ὅπως, qualifying the whole sentence λέξασα...λαθραίου describes the queen's reception of Agamemnon. The expressions are loaded, indeed over-loaded, with double meaning. (1) In relation to γλῶσσα...λέξασα, the word δίκην means primarily *plea* (cf. λέγειν δίκην and δικας οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης v. 804): Clytaemnestra's address (v. 846) is a *δίκη* in this sense, an exculpation of herself. In this connexion ἐκτείνασα means *lengthening*, and refers to the artificial length of her address, noted by Agamemnon (v. 907) in similar terms. But (2) in ἐκτείνασα δίκην. τεύξε-ται there is also involved another sense of δίκη, connected with δίκη *justice* very remotely if at all, namely *a cast* (as of a net) from δικάειν *to throw* (cf. βόλος from βάλλειν, and δίκτυον). To δίκην in this sense ἐκτείνειν *to reach forth* is literally

the slave must bear the yoke—of me. Little he knows, the destroyer of Ilium, captain of a lost fleet, how the tongue of that lewd creature hath spoken and 'stretched', with joyful thoughts, her 'plea' (and cast!) of treacherous death, which fatally shall reach him! So bold the crime, a woman to slay the man!

She is—ah what should the loveless monster be fitly called? A dragon, a Scylla housed in the rocks, the mariner's bane, a mother of death (?), offering her fell sacrifices even while in the prayer of her soul her husband hath no part. And how the bold wretch raised her cheer, as at the turn of battle, pretending to be glad of the safe coming-home!

And of this how much is believed, it matters not. What is to be will come, nay, soon thou, present thyself, wilt say with compassion 'A prophet only too true!'

applicable, and in this metaphor the allusive phrases meet.—*ἄτης λαθραίου* defines *δίκη*, and also determines the meaning of *τεύχεται* *will reach (the object)*.—I unite the explanations of (1) Mr Macnaghten (*Journal of Philology*, xvi. p. 213) and (2) Prof. Bury (*Classical Rev.* i. 241) See further Appendix X.

1230. *τοιάδε*, so daring, that he cannot suspect it.—*θῆλυς φονεύς*, where *θῆλυς* is in effect subject and *φονεύς* predicate, stand in loose apposition to *τόλμα*, as in the English.—Others join together *θῆλυς... ἐστίν*, but see next note.—*τόλμα* H. L. Ahrens.

1231. *ἔστιν—τί νιν κτλ.* She pauses for words.

1234. *θύουσας* refers primarily to the sacrifices which play so important a part in the plot. (See particularly *vv.* 392—599 *ἀνωλόλυξα... ὅμως δ' ἔθυσον* and note *ἐπωλόλυξατο* below.) But "*Ἄιδου* suggests also the sense *raging* (from the other *θύω*). The point lies in the ambiguity: her sacrifice is the ritual of a *Fury*.—"*Ἄιδου μητέρα* (?): a strange expression. Mr Sidgwick translates it by *Dam of Death*, which sounds well; but *Hades* is strictly a personal name, the deity of the lower world. *λήτορα* O. Muller, followed by Wecklein (from Hesychius,

*λήτορες· ἱερεῖαι*, and *λήττειραι· ἱερεῖαι τῶν σερμῶν θεῶν*; cf. *v.* 736 *ἱερεὺς ἄτας*), *priestess of Hades*.

12. *τε* couples *θύουσας* to *πνέουσας*, contrasting them as things which should not co-exist.—*ἄσπονδον ἄρᾳ φίλοις*. The dative depends on *ἄσπονδον*. An *ἄρᾳ* created a bond (see *v.* 464) between those who joined in the *σπονδαί* (*libation*) by which it was typified. An *ἄρᾳ* which is *ἄσπονδος τινι* is a prayer in which that person cannot share. The prayers, with which Clytaemnestra secretly accompanied her pretended sacrifice for her husband's return, were curses upon his head and vows for the success of her plot.—*φίλοις*, regularly used in tragedy of the husband or wife.—"*Ἀρην*, "*Ἀρῇ conji.*

1236. *ὥσπερ... τροπῇ* as *at the moment of victory*. The figure is from women watching a fight and raising the *δολογμός* when they see the enemy fly.

1238. Literally 'it is all one if I am as to any point herein not believed'.

1239. *μήν* but marks a climax. The fact can scarcely be called 'future'. the elders are there to see it.—*καὶ* emphasizes *σύ*, *thy very self*.

1240. *γα*. As for confirmation of her truth, that *at least* will be only too complete. The object (*με*) is apparently



- ΧΟ. τὴν μὲν Θυέστον δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν  
 ξυνῆκα καὶ πέφρικα, καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει  
 κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἀκούσας ἐκ δρόμον πεσὼν τρέχω.
- ΚΑ. Ἀγαμέμνωνός σε φήμ' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον. 1245
- ΧΟ. εὐφήμον, ᾧ τάλαινα, κοίμησον στόμα.
- ΚΑ. ἄλλ' οὔτι παιῶν τῷδ' ἐπιστατεῖ λόγφ.
- ΧΟ. οὐκ, εἰ παρέσται γ' ἄλλ' μὴ γένοιτό πως.
- ΚΑ. σὺ μὲν κατεύχει, τοῖς δ' ἀποκτείνειν μέλει.
- ΧΟ. τίνος πρὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦτ' ἄχος πορσύνεται; 1250
- ΚΑ. ἦ κάρτι ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπεις χρησμῶν ἐμῶν.
- ΧΟ. τοῦ γὰρ τελούντος οὐ ξυνῆκα μηχανήν.
- ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ἄγαν γ' Ἑλλην' ἐπίσταμαι φάτιν.
- ΧΟ. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πυθόκραντα· δυσπιθῇ δ' ὅμως.
- ΚΑ. παπαῖ, οἷον τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι. 1255  
 ὁτοτοῖ, Λύκει' Ἀπολλον, οἱ ἐγὼ ἐγῶ.  
 αὕτη δίπους λέαινα συγκοιμωμένη  
 λῦκφ λέοντος εὐγενοῦς ἀπουσία.

1241. παιδείων.

1251. παρεσκόπεις.

1254. δυσπαθῇ.

1257. δίπους.

supplied from *el pelθw*. but perhaps we should read *μ' ἐν* (for *μὴν* Auratus) or *μ'* (for *γε* Pauw).

1241. παιδείων Schutz.

1243. *ἀληθῶς*. *ἐξηκασμένα* *what is in truth no mere likeness*. They admit that her utterances have as she asserts (*v.* 1193) all the precision of reality. Cf. *Theb.* 432.

1244. *ἐκ τρέχω* *I am thrown off the track*, at a loss.

1246. *εὐφήμον*. The presence of the gods of the house, in whose honour a sacrifice is now being performed, makes abstinence from ominous words a religious duty. From the reference to *Παῶν* (*Apollo*) in the answer it appears that they point specially at the *Agyieus* (*v.* 1065).

1247. *Nay, it is not as saviour that*

*he governs this speech*, but as *ἀπόλλων* (see *v.* 1065, and contrast *v.* 517 *νῶν*. *ἰσθι παιώνιος*).—*λόγφ*: what she has said.

1248. *No indeed, if he means to appear; but I trust it shall not be so, i.e.* I trust it is an idle prediction which the god does not inspire, and will not see executed. But presently Cassandra beholds the god himself (*v.* 1268) It is to be remembered that Agamemnon, as well as Cassandra, was a sinner against Apollo in having violated his sanctuary. The apparition of the god here at the crisis is a forecast of his leading part in the following plays.—*ἐπερ ἔσται*, Schutz, assuming that the subject of the verb is *ὁ λόγος*.

1250. They are thinking of Aegisthus; hence *ἀνδρός*.

1251. *Thou must indeed have missed*

*Eld.* Thyestes' feast of children's flesh I understood, and shudder. Truly 'tis more than semblance, and it makes me afraid to hear it. But in what else was said I am thrown out of the track.

*Cass.* I say that thou wilt see Agamemnon dead.

*Eld.* O hush, poor creature, hush thy profane lips!

*Cass.* Nay, it is not as a Saviour that He directs this sentence.

*Eld.* No indeed, if He will be present; but I trust it shall not be so.

*Cass.* While thou prayest against them, they are busy to slay.

*Eld.* Who is the man who is contriving this woe?

*Cass.* Thou must indeed have looked far wide of what I showed!

*Eld.* 'Tis that I understand not the plan of him who should do it.

*Cass.* And yet I know the speech of Hellas, only too well.

*Eld.* Greek are the Pythian oracles, and yet hard to the seeker.

*Cass.* Oh, this burning fire!...It is creeping over me!...Ah mercy, Apollo Lycæus, mercy upon me!

See the lioness two-footed, that couches with the wolf while the noble lion is away! She will slay me, wretch that I am!

clear the purport of my revelation, literally 'must have looked much wide of (παρά)'. For the tense with *ἄν* see *v.* 924 and note there.—By the caesural division of *παρ-εσκεύεαι* an emphasis may be thrown upon *παρά* (as an adverb), cf. *Theb.* 525. In fact *παρ-εσκεύεαι* is not one word but two. See however the observations of Dr Headlam, *On editing Aeschylus*, p. 16. I hope to return to the subject in connexion with the *Persae*.—*ἢ κάρτα τάρτα παρεκέστης* Hartung.

1252. Literally 'of the person likely to perform it I do not understand the instrument', i.e. 'I do not see how he, whom I should naturally suspect of the design, has any means of executing it'. *ὁ τελὼν* is Aegisthus, as in *v.* 1250. It would be

impossible that the elders, knowing what they do, should not have their minds turned in this direction by Cassandra's words. But as they say, what they do not comprehend is how the adulterers can act. The *μηχανή* is the conspiracy.

1253. *ἄγαν γε*: by the fatal inspiration of Apollo, which adds a point to the next verse.

1254. *δυσπυθῆ* hard to enquire of, hard to learn, from *πυθέσθαι*: cf. *εὐπιθῆς*.—*δυσμαθῆ* Stephanus

1255. *ἐπέρχεται* it is coming, the prophetic seizure.

1257. *δύπως* Victorius.—*αὐτῇ* See there. It is better to stop the sentence at *ἀπουσίᾳ*.

κτενεῖ με τὴν τάλαιναν· ὥς δὲ φάρμακον  
 τεύχουσα κάμου μισθὸν ἐνθήσει κότῳ. 1260  
 ἐπεύχεται θήγουσα φωτὶ φάσγανον  
 ἐμῆς ἀγωγῆς ἀντιτίσασθαι φόνον.  
 τί δῆτ' ἐμαντῆς καταγέλωτ' ἔχω τάδε,  
 καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ μαντεῖα περὶ δέρῃ στέφη ;  
 σὲ μὲν πρὸ μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς διαφθερῶ. 1265  
 ἴτ' ἐς φθόρον πεσόντ' ἀγαθῷ δ' ἀμείβομαι.†  
 ἄλλην τιν' ἄτην ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πλουτίζετε.  
 ἰδοὺ δ' Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἐκδύων ἐμὲ  
 χρηστηρίαν ἐσθῆτ'· ἐποπτεύσας δέ με  
 κὰν τοῖσδε κόσμοις καταγελωμένην μετὰ, 1270  
 φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως, μάτην  
 (καλουμένη δέ, φοιτὰς ὥς, ἀγύρτρια  
 πτωχὸς τάλαινα λιμοθυῆς ἡνεσχόμην),  
 καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμὲ  
 ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανασίμους τύχας. 1275  
 βωμοῦ πατρώου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει

\* 1266. ἀμείβομαι (corr. to ἀμείψομαι)

1259—1260. *She brews, as it were, a medicine for her wrath and will add to it (as an ingredient) also the recompense for me, i.e. the revenge for the insult done to her as a wife. κότῳ, dative 'of interest', belongs to the whole sentence, both to τεύχουσα and to ἐνθήσει, the wrath, i.e. the craving for vengeance, being personified as the patient to be cured—ποσιῶ (Auratus) leaves φάρμακον obscure.—The abrupt recommencement ἐπεύχεται κτλ. is effective and in character (vv. 1218, 1222, 1226, 1267).*

1264. σκῆπτρα . στέφη: at each word she dashes down the thing named.—σκῆπτρα her divining wands.—στέφη fillets of wool.

1265. σὲ some other object, uncertain without the scenic explanation, "an image of Apollo, I guess, which she wore on her head or breast" (Munro, *J. Ph.* XI 140).

1266. See Appendix V.

1267. Literally 'enrich another kind of destruction in return for the destruction of me'. ἄτην πλουτίζετε *enrich Destruction, i.e. 'be destroyed', as in Soph. O. T. 30* "Αἰδὴς στεναγμοῖς καὶ γόοις πλουτίζεται, but here with more point in so far as the notion of πλοῦτος is literally appropriate to the insignia.—ἄλλην τινά (in prose usage *ἐτέραν τινά*) marks the fanciful analogy. If the insignia cannot be killed, like Cassandra, they can at least be spoiled—ἀντ' ἐμοῦ, as in the *comparatio compendiarum*, for ἀντὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἄτης. She expresses more precisely the idea of ἀμείβομαι in v. 1266.—Suggested changes (δῆτις Hermann, etc.) assume the meaning 'Bestow yourselves on another'. But the insignia are not to go to another; they are to be destroyed.

1270. Lit. 'mocked even in this dress along with it'. As in v. 591 and

Brewing as it were a medicine for her wrath, she will add to it also the recompense for me. She vows as she sharpens her man-slaying sword, to take of him for the bringing of me a bloody revenge.

Why then in derision of myself do I bear these, the scorn of divination, and the stole about my neck?

Thee at least I will destroy ere I perish myself!

Down, cursed things, to the ground, where thus I take vengeance upon you! (?) Because ye have been my ruin, die ye too, so as ye may.

But see, Apollo himself, stripping from me the prophet's vesture! He hath had the spectacle of me exposed, even in and along with this sacred garb, to the derision of friend and foe alike, and in vain—yes, 'mountebank, beggar, starveling' were the names, alas, that vagabond-like I had to bear: and now the Seer hath finished my seership, and brought me to die like this, where there awaits me not the altar of my home, but a

v. 1644, the adverbial preposition is emphasized by separation. So long as Cassandra was mocked, Apollo cared not if the sacred emblems of his own religion were exposed to indignity 'along with' her. *μετά* here means *οὐκ ἄνευ τούτων* as *σύν* in v. 391 means *μη ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων*.—μέγα Hermann.

1271. φίλων διχορρόπως *by friends and foes indifferently* disbelieved, that is, in Argos just as formerly in Troy (Hermann, Peile, Conington etc.). The absence of a copula between φίλων and ἐχθρῶν depends on the same principle of antithesis as *ἄνω κάτω ὑπὸ and down, ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν* Soph. *Ant.* 1079, *δάκνει δάκνεσθαι* Aristoph. *Frogs* 861 (Kühner, § 546, 5, e, d).—Others join φίλων, as an adjective, to ἐχθρῶν, or *vice versa*, or take together *μετὰ and φίλων* 'by foes with (as well as) friends'. In favour of this last see Headlam, *Class. Rev.* xiv. 117, citing somewhat similar uses of *σύν ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλοις*, in which however *σύν* does not seem to mean *as well as* but simply *with*.—μάτην. As the prophecies were still disbelieved, the mockery was borne in

vain.—The pause after *διχορρόπως* gives sharp emphasis to the final word.

1273. *τάλαινα* *Alas!*—'Like a vagabond, I endured beggary, wretchedness, hunger', T. C. Snow, *Class. Rev.* II. 319, supposing an actual wandering: but *καλουμένη* is a difficulty.

1274. *καὶ νῦν* resumes the main sentence. As he has followed with revengeful delight her sufferings as prophetess, so *now also* he has come to witness the last penalty.—*μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμέ* 'having finished my seership', 'having done with me as a seer'. *Finished* here is not quite the same thing as *destroyed* (Soph. *O. C.* 1659), Cassandra the *μάντις* is 'finished', as having completed her punishment so far as it was to be inflicted through the prophetic gift. In sign of which the god by her own hands has stripped off the fatal emblems.

1276—1277. *κοπέσῃς*, possessive, depending on *ἐπιξήνον*, literally 'the block of one struck', 'the victim's block'. That *κοπέσῃς* is strictly general in sense explains the use of the timeless aorist.

θερμῷ κοπείσης φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.  
 οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοί γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν.  
 ἤξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάορος,  
 μητροκτόνον φίτυμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός· 1280  
 φυγὰς δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος  
 κάτεισιν ἄτας τάσδε θριγκώσων φίλοις·  
 ἄξει νιν ὑπτίασμα κειμένου πατρός.  
 τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ κάτοικος ὧδ' ἀναστένω;  
 ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἰλίου πόλιν 1285  
 πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν, οἳ δ' εἶχον πόλιν  
 οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐκ θεῶν κρίσει,  
 ἰούσα πράξω, τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν·  
 ὁμώμοται γὰρ ὄρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας.  
 Ἄιδου πύλας δὲ τάσδ' ἐγὼ προσεινέπω, 1290

1278. ἄτιμῶν (corr. to ἄτιμοι),

1283. ἄξει νυν.

1290. τὰς λέγω.

θερμῷ is a predicate to φοινίῳ προσφάγματι, *quasi τῷ φοινίῳ προσφάγματι*. Literally 'upon the before-shed (or first-shed) blood being warm'. The dative is that which, on the analogy of the genitive, is sometimes called 'absolute'. The προσφάγμα is the blood of Agamemnon. See further Appendix Z.

1278. τεθνήξομεν *we*, strictly plural, Cassandra and Agamemnon.

1283. ἄξει νιν *g. h.* Hermann retaining ἄξειν (*f*) inserts here *v.* 1289, but see note there.—Of ὑπτίασμα only a conjectural explanation can be given. It means literally 'the turning of a thing upside down'. Thus the position of the hands in prayer with the palms upwards is ὑπτίασμα χειρῶν. Here it refers to the overthrow of the fallen (κειμένου) Agamemnon. But it can scarcely be supposed that the poet, without special reason, would describe so simple a matter by such a far-fetched and unnatural word, or that ὑπτίασμα κειμένου πατρός is merely an equivalent for κείμενος πατήρ. As this verse is in form a commentary on the preceding, it is there we should

look for the explanation. The only expression likely to suggest remark is θριγκώσων. With this metaphor therefore ὑπτίασμα should be connected; the ὑπτίασμα of Agamemnon's fall will bring or lead to the θριγκός of Orestes' vengeance. The θριγκός was the finish of a piece of building, such as the coping stone of a wall, the *abacus* of a capital, etc.: and ὑπτίασμα therefore, to suit the metaphor, should be what comes before, *i. e.* below, the θριγκός. In all building, unless on a very small scale, the projection of the θριγκός is secured and connected with the vertical by an *inward slope*; and this slope is effected by a stone or piece which is a ὑπτίασμα in the proper sense, having a larger end and a smaller, and standing upon the smaller, *i. e.* upside down. More particularly in the capital of a pillar, the inward-sloping part (in Doric architecture the *echinus*), which carries the *abacus* or flat top, is a ὑπτίασμα. We may conjecture therefore that to this part of a wall or column was applied the term ὑπτίασμα, or some term (*e.g.* τὸ ὑπτιῶν) suggesting this. For



butcherly block for a victim struck before the last blood is cold.

Yet not unregarded of heaven shall we die. For there shall come another yet to requite for us, one born to slay<sup>1</sup> his mother, to avenge his sire. Exiled from this land, a wanderer disowned, he shall return, to put on this tower of unnatural crimes that pinnacle, whereto his father's death is the leading spire

I am come to my 'home', and why thus wail? Since I saw first Ilium meet the fate it hath, and now they, who were her captors, are brought by the gods of their choice to their present pass, I will go meet fate, will take death patiently, because the gods with a mighty oath have sworn it!

Only I greet this door as the portal of Death, and my prayer

the same architectural metaphor with the same application see v. 1339.

1284. κάτοικος means 'one who settles' or takes up his abode in a place. In bitter irony she identifies herself as she has been bidden to do (v. 1020) with the house of Agamemnon, and chides herself for delaying to enter where she is to abide.—κάτοικτος Scaliger.

1286. εἶχον. The imperfect tense is used in contrast to the succeeding present ἀπαλλάσσουσιν: cf. v. 709 ὑμέναιον δι τὸτ' ἐπέτρεπεν γαμβροῖσιν δίδειν. οἱ δ' εἶχον is literally 'those who (then) were the takers (of the town)'. As σchein is to take, so εχειν is to be taking, as in v. 670.—πάλιν Keck, for πόλιν, i.e. on the contrary or in their turn. The object to εἶχον (αὐτήν) would naturally be supplied, and πάλιν improves the point.

1287. 'Are brought by their choice of gods to their present pass', literally 'are coming off thus by choice of gods'. ἐκ θεῶν, out of or among gods, depends upon κρίσει (choosing, from κρίνω choose); cf. v. 1365, *Theb* 806 ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ etc.—ἐν θεῶν κρίσει (g, h) is perhaps only a conjecture to simplify the construction, but the meaning is not altered.—The thought is this: from the triumph of Agamemnon and the Greeks it might have appeared, and it was argued, that the Trojans had chosen their patrons ill,

and in particular that they erred in adopting the κρείσι, the judgment or choice, of Paris' but now it seems that Zeus Xenios (vv. 374, 705 etc.), Hera, and the other vaunted patrons of the Greeks, have no mind to protect the victors. Evil destiny therefore is omnipotent, and nothing remains but to submit to it.—ἐν θεῶν κρίσει may also be rendered 'under the decision of the gods'.

1288. ἰδοὺα πράξω 'I will go to my own fate (faring)'. The sense of πράξω is explained (Paley) by πράσαν in v. 1286 to which it refers.—τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν defines πράξω. The abrupt asyndeton is intentional for effect.

1289. *For have not the gods sworn a mighty oath?* i.e. what I am to suffer is fated, as was the destruction of Troy, as is the impending death of Agamemnon, as is the future vengeance of Orestes. The divine oath, the Homeric symbol of certain destiny, is used here with a general application, summing up the fatalistic argument of the passage.—Hermann places this verse before v. 1283.

1290. 'But in my salutation this gate shall be the gate of Death'. She contrasts her conscious going-in to death with the confident salutation of Agamemnon, θεοὺς ἐγγυρλους δίκη προσευχεῖν (v. 801), and again ἐς μέλαθρα ἐλθὼν θεοῖσι δεξιῶσομαι (v. 843). The parallel is in-

ἐπεύχονται δὲ καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν,  
ὡς ἰσφάδαςτος, αἱμάτων εὐθησίμων  
ἀπ' ἰορρυνέντων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε.

- ΧΟ. ὦ πολλὰ μὲν τάλαυα, πολλὰ δὲ ἴσοφῇ  
γύναι, μακρὰν ἔτεινας· εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως 1295  
μόρον τὸν αὐτῆς οἶσθα, πῶς θεηλάτου  
βοὰς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς;  
ΚΑ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἄλυσις, οὔ, ξένοι, χρόνῳ πλέω.  
ΧΟ. ὁ δ' ὕστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου πρσβεύεται.  
ΚΑ. ἦκει τόδ' ἡμαρ· σμικρὰ κερδανῶ φυγῇ. 1300  
ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἴσθι τλήμων οὔσ' ἀπ' εὐτόλμου φρενός.  
ΚΑ. οὐδεὶς ἀκούει ταῦτα τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.  
ΧΟ. ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς τοι κατθανεῖν χάρις βροτῶ.  
ΚΑ. ἰὼ πάτερ σοῦ τῶν τε γενναίων τέκνων.  
ΧΟ. τί δ' ἔστι χρεῖμα, τίς σ' ἀποστρέφει φόβος; 1305  
ΚΑ. φεῦ φεῦ.  
ΧΟ. τί τοῦτ' ἔφευξας; εἴ τι μὴ φρενῶν στύγος.  
ΚΑ. φόβον δόμοι πνέουσιν αἱματοσταγῇ.  
ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς; τόδ' ὅζει θυμάτων ἐφεστίων.  
ΚΑ. ὁμοῖος ἀτμός ὥσπερ ἐκ τάφου πρέπει. 1310

1298. πλέω

introduced by *κατοικος* in v. 1284 and guides the whole passage.—τάσδ' ἐγώ Auratus

1294. Read perhaps *σχεθρά* *very miserable, but very patient* (see the following lines) *σχεθρός* or *σχεθρός* is given by Hesychius, with the interpretation *τλήμων patient*, which this passage (see v. 1301) suggests. For the derivation from *σχεῖν* *to bear*, cf. *ἀνασχετός*.—8' αὖ *Cod Farn.* with *σοφῇ*, which, if retained, should be understood, as the context indicates, ironically. But it may be an explanation of *σχεθρά*, arising from the confusion of *σχεθρός* and *σκεθρός*.

1295. 'You have by long speaking deferred your fate for some time, it is true, but if you really foresee it, why go to it at all?' This is the tone.

1296. *θεηλάτου*. If a victim came to the place of sacrifice willingly, it was supposed to indicate the divine choice.

1297. *εὐτόλμως* literally 'with easy courage', *carelessly* rather than *bravely*. See on Eur. *Med.* 496.

1298. *χρόνῳ πλέω*. *When the time is full, there is no escape* For the dative see Appendix Z. Here it may be quasi-causal, *by fullness of time there is no escape*, or quasi-possessive, *a full time hath no escape*, the *χρόνος* being personified as in v. 885; see the note cited, and particularly Theocr. 13. 29. But it is unnecessary to decide the exact relation, as the case like the genitive signifies merely accompanying circumstance.—*χρόνοι πλέω* (Weil) *the times are full*, a separate clause.

is to receive a mortal stroke, that the blood-stream may flow easy, and I may not struggle but close mine eyes.

*Eld.* O woman patient as miserable! When all this is spoken, yet now, if verily thou dost know thine own cath, why goest thou to it, enduring as the ox, which the god moves toward the altar?

*Cass.* There is no escape, friends, none, when the time is full.

*Eld.* Yea, but the last of the time is best.

*Cass.* The day is come. Little shall I gain by flight.

*Eld.* Then be assured, that thou hast a stubborn patience!

*Cass.* So praised is never any save the unhappy.

*Eld.* Yet a mortal may be glad to die with honour.

*Cass.* Ah father, to think of thee and those, thy genuine children!

*Eld.* What is it? What horror turns thee back?

*Cass.* O foul, O foul!

*Eld.* What callest thou foul, if the loathing be not in thy fancy?

*Cass.* 'Tis the horror of dripping blood, that the house exhales.

*Eld.* Nay, nay: it is the scent of the hearth-sacrifice.

*Cass.* It is such a reek as might come out of a grave.

1299. Two constructions are possible: (1) τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβύτεραι *he that is last* (to undergo the inevitable) *has the advantage in respect of time*; Hermann, Paley and others: and (2) ὁ ἔσχατος τοῦ χρόνου *the last of the time is best*, Elberling cited by Hermann. (2) seems preferable, since (1) introduces a comparison of different persons, which is scarcely to the point. Either way the meaning is that an inevitable evil may at least be put off to the last.—τοῦ χρόνου: 'the time' of the preceding verse.

1301—1303. They attempt to console her with praise, but she answers with sad resignation. Although impressed they are determined not to be convinced (see v. 1305), and their consolation is but half serious.—Against the rearrangement

of this passage by Heath and Hermann (thus, 1301, 1303, 1302) see Paley, Sidgwick, Kennedy, Conington. To Cassandra the sentiment ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς κτλ. is not suitable.

1304. With this cry of misery and repentance, suggested partly by εὐκλεῶς κατανεῖν, she moves to enter, but starts back in an agony of physical horror—τῶν. Degraded as she is, she does not count herself among τὰ γενναῖα τῶν τέκνων. There is no εὐκλεῶς κατανεῖν for her.—σῶν Auratus.

1308. φόβον of that which terrifies, as in v. 1305 and *Theb.* 487. See Tennyson, *Maud* I. 1. 1 'The red-rib'd ledges drip with a silent horror of blood'. With φόβον πνέουσιν cf. κλάζουσι φόβον *Theb.* 373.—φόνον *Coul. Farn.*

ΧΟ. οὐ Σύριον ἀγλαίσμα δώμασιν λέγεις.

ΚΑ. ἀλλ' εἰμὶ κύν δόμοισι κωκύουσιν ἐμὴν  
Ἀγαμέμνονός τε μοῖραν. ἀρκέτω βίος.  
ὠὖ ξένοι.

οὐ γὰρ δυσοίζω θάμνον ὡς ὄρνις φόβῳ 1315

ᾧ λῶς· θανούσῃ μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι τόδε,

ᾧ γὰρ γυνὴ γυναικὸς ἀντ' ἐμοῦ θάνῃ,

ἀνὴρ τε δυσδάμαρτος ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς πέσῃ.

ἐπιξενούμαι, ταῦτα δ' ὡς θανουμένη.

ΧΟ. ᾧ, τλήμων, οἰκτεῖρω σε θεσφάτου μόρου. 1320

ΚΑ. ἄπαξ ἔτ' εἰπεῖν ῥῆσιν—ἡ θρήνον θέλω

ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς; ἡλίψ δ' ἐπεύχομαι,

πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς, τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαόροις

ἐχθροῖς φόνευσιν τοῖς ἐμοῖς τίνειν ὁμοῦ

δούλης θανούσης εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος. 1325

ὠὖ βρότεια πράγματ'· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν

σκιά τις ἂν τρέψειεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχή,

βολαῖς ὑγρώσσω σπόγγος ὤλεσεν γραφήν.

καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνων μᾶλλον οἰκτεῖρω πολὺ.

ΧΟ. τὸ μὲν εἶ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφν 1330

πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν· δακτυλοδείκτων δ'

1316. ἀλλ' ὡς.

1324. ἐχθροῖς φανεῦσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς (originally τοῖς).

1327. ἀντρέψειεν.

1314. She turns back again

1316. ἄλλως θανούσῃ Hermann.

1319. *I.e.* 'if I make a claim upon you as my new ξένοι, it is my first and my last', literally 'I claim ξένια, but *that* as one about to die': cf. καὶ ταῦτα 'and that', and see v. 556.—The verse may also be taken as one clause, with the same sense.

1320. This is the only speaker who expresses full conviction and sympathy, and the one touch of relief to the horror of the scene. One ξένος responds to her last appeal, and with that she turns from them for ever.

1321. *I would speak one speech more, or is it mine own dirge?* She has spoken ὡς θανουμένη (v. 1321), yet she will speak once more, if it be but ὡς θανοῦσα. It is the last stage in the conflict between her terror and her despair.—ῥῆσιν, οὐ θρήνον (Hermann).

1322—1323. The sense is 'I make to the sun my last prayer, that when revenge comes, *my* wrongs may not be forgotten'. In the words there is some error, and many corrections (see Wecklein) are more or less plausible.—ἐχθροῖς τοῖς ἐμοῖς Pearson; φόνευσιν Bothe, cf. φανεύω, φόνευμα: 'that *my* enemies may simul-

*Eld.* Thou canst not mean the sweet incense of the palace

*Cass.* Yet I will go, and within, as here, will wail the fate of me and of Agamemnon. Enough of life!

Oh friends, my friends!

I do not clamour for naught as a bird that dreads a bush. Bear this witness to me dead, when some day for my death another woman shall die, and for the hapless husband another fall. This office I ask of you at the point to die.

*Eld.* Ah miserable, I pity thee for thy death foretold!

*Cass.* I would speak one speech more—or is it mine own dirge? To the sun I call, unto the last I see, that those my avengers may take of these my enemies a bloody vengeance also for the easy conquest of a poor slain slave.

Alas for the state of man! If happiness may be changed as it were by a shade, misery is a picture which at the dash of the wet sponge is gone. And this I say is the more pitiable by far.

[*Exit.*

*The Elders.* Prosperity in all men doth naturally crave more. Though the palace be pointed at by jealous fingers,

taneously pay to *my* avengers the slaying of a slave'. Between τοῖς ἐμοῖς and ὁμοῦ (*at the same time* with the vengeance for Agamemnon) there is no doubt a logical inconsistency: logic would require τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως τιμαῖσις or the like. But what is lost in logic is perhaps gained in effect: she says once too often that which she wants to say, that the wrong is *hers* also, the avengers *hers* also.—Mr Housman, *Journal of Philology* XVI. p. 287, proposes τοῖς νέοις.—ἡλπε, . πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς are cumulative, one repeating the other.

1326—1329. In ἂν τρέψειεν (Porson) τρέπω has the sense analogous to τροπή *change*.—ταῦτα the latter, the destruction of the miserable, ἐκείνων the former, that of the prosperous.—She is still protesting against neglect of her part in the injury. The murder of the poor slave may count for little beside the murder of the great king; and vulgar opinion may esteem the overthrow of prosperity a more tragic thing than the extinction of misery which

is only just on this side of nothing. But *this*, not *that*, is truly the more pitiable case.—σκιᾷ τις ἂν πρέψειεν (*one may liken them to a sketch*) Conington, from Photius πρέψαι· ὁμοῖωσαι. But is this gloss likely to be right? πρέψας· εἰκασμένος, εἰκασθεὶς (Hesychius) is no doubt correct, but does not support the other.—σκιᾶν ... γράψειεν Ranchenstein, σκιᾷ γράψειεν H. Richards (*Class. Rev.* VII. 19).—δυστυχῇ Victorinus, δυστυχοὶ Blomfield. Either is possible in poetry. But δυστυχῇ is also possible and expresses the point better, the conditional sentence is then elliptical, the verb (τρέψειεν or something of the same general sense) being supplied from the preceding τρέψειεν. The change, which to prosperity is an overshadowing, is to misery obliteration. Whichever be read, the meaning is practically the same.

1333. μηκέτ' ἐσέλθης Hermann. The verse has been wrongly completed to a full dimeter.



οὔτις ἀπειπὼν εἵργει μελάθρων,  
 μηκέτ' ἐσέλθης, τάδε φωνῶν.  
 καὶ τῷδε πόλιν μὲν ἐλεῖν ἔδοσαν  
 μάκαρες Πριάμου, 1335  
 θεοτίμητος δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκάνει·  
 νῦν δ' εἰ προτέρων αἶμ' ἀποτίσει  
 καὶ τοῖσι θανούσι θανῶν ἄλλων  
 ποιωᾶς θανάτων ἐπικρανεῖ,  
 τίς τίν' ἂν εὖξαιτο βροτῶν ἀσινεῖ 1340  
 δαίμονι φῦναι τάδ' ἀκούων;

- ΑΓ. ὦμοι, πέπληγμαι καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔσω.  
 ΧΟ. σίγα· τίς πληγὴν αὐτεῖ καιρίως οὐτασμένος;  
 ΑΓ. ὦμοι μάλ' αὖθις, δευτέραν πεπληγμένος.  
 ΧΟ. τοῦργον εἰργάσθαι δοκεῖ μοι βασιλέως οἰμώγ-  
 μασιν. 1345  
 ἀλλὰ κουνωσώμεθ' ἂν πως ἀσφαλῇ βουλευματα.  
 1. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην λέγω,  
 πρὸς δῶμα δεῦρ' ἀστοῖσι κηρύσσειν βοήν.  
 2. ἐμοὶ δ' ὅπως τάχιστα γ' ἐμπεσεῖν δοκεῖ  
 καὶ πρᾶγμ' ἐλέγχειν σὺν νεορρῦτῃ ξίφει. 1350

1333. μηκέτι δ' ἐσέλθης.

1340. τίς ἂν.

1333. τοῖσι θανούσι θανῶν *adding death to deaths*. With the dative cf. Soph. O. T. 175 ἄλλον δ' ἂν ἄλλω προσ-  
 ἰδοὺς ὄρμενον *life on life mayst thou see speed*, where "the dative seems to depend mainly on the notion of adding implied by the iteration itself" (Jebb). Here it is helped by ἐπὶ in the verb. See also on Theb. 424 κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλα τίκτεται.  
 13. ἄλλων...ἐπικρανεῖ *must crown the pile with yet other deaths in revenge*, literally 'is putting other revengeful deaths as a capital upon the column', referring to v. 1283, where the same metaphor is applied to the same facts.—ἐπικρανεῖ should perhaps be corrected to

ἐπικραίνει. If right (as it may be) it is the present of ἐπικράνω, a verb formed from ἐπικράνω the *capital* of a column (and from the stem κράν- *head*, whence κράνιον *skull* etc.), as ἐπιτελέω from τέλος. The present tense is used, as often in prophecy (Kühner, *Gr. Gramms.* § 382, 5 and 6), of that which is on the way to be done.

1340. τίς τίν' ἂν εὖξαιτο...; a double interrogative, *who could affirm that any mortal...?*—τίς, τίς Musgrave.

1342. καιρίαν *mortal*. On the history of this word, which, though formed from καιρός, seems to have been influenced in use by a resemblance to κήριος from κήρ, see Leaf on Hom. II. 4. 185.

none forbidding shuts fortune out with these words 'Enter no more'.

And so to the king the gods have given to take the town of Priam, and he comes honoured of heaven to his home: yet now if he must pay for the blood of those before, if adding death to deaths he is to crown the pile with yet other deaths in revenge, who hearing this could affirm that any mortal is born with fortune beyond harm?

*Agamemnon (within)* Oh, I am struck, deep-struck and mortally!

*Eld.* Silence! Who shrieks as wounded with a mortal stroke?

*Ag.* Again, oh again! Another stroke!

*Eld.* The deed, I doubt, is done, from the cries of the king. But let us give each other safe counsel, if we may.

### *The Elders in succession.*

1. I give you mine own judgment, that we summon a rescue of the folk to the palace.

2. Nay, I think we had best dash in at once, and prove the deed by the dripping sword.

1346. κοινωσώμεθ' ἄν πως κτλ. *i.e.*, to render the full force, 'we will, *if we may*, give to one another safe counsel'.—ἄν with the imperatival subjunctive is contrary to rule, and generally rejected. But if we may reason from analogy, such a use should occur occasionally. It exists in Homer with κεῖν, as the expression of a conditional purpose (Monro, *Hom. Grammar* § 275), and may be supposed to have disappeared gradually, being retained meanwhile in poetry like other archaic syntax. The effect of ἄν would be to give a *tentative* tone, suggesting subjection to the condition of possibility. This is the account usually given of final ὡς with ἄν and without, and it appears to be correct, so far as any difference is strictly observed. We can understand

why in the imperative the like variation should be extremely rare. Between the *tentative* and the *imperative* there is a natural inconsistency. But here it would be not out of place.—The proposed corrections, ἔμψας, ἦν πως, ἄν πως etc., are not satisfactory.

1347. On the distribution of these speeches see Wecklein. The text points, as observed by Bamberger and O. Müller, to a chorus of 12 elders, and this is probably the intention, although a tradition (schol. to Aristoph. *Knights* 589) gives to this play the larger tragic chorus of 15.—On the scene in general at this point see the Introduction.

1348. βοήν *i.e.* βοήθειαν: to cry a rescue.

3. καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτου γνώματος κοινωνὸς ὦν  
ψηφίζομαι τι δρᾶν· τὸ μὴ μέλλειν δ' ἀκμή.
4. ὁρᾶν πάρεστι· φροιμιάζονται γὰρ ὡς  
τυραννίδος σημεῖα πράσσοντες πόλει.
5. χρονίζομεν γάρ· οἱ δὲ μελλούσης κλέος 1355  
πέδοι πατοῦντες οὐ καθεύδουσιν χερσὶ.
6. οὐκ οἶδα βουλῆς ἥστινος τυχὼν λέγω.  
τοῦ δρῶντός ἐστι καὶ τὸ βουλευσάμενός περ.
7. καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτός εἰμ', ἐπεὶ δυσμηχανῶ  
λόγοισι τὸν θανόντ' ἀνιστάμεναι πάλιν. 1360
8. ἡ καὶ βίον κτείνοντες ὧδ' ὑπέξομεν  
δόμων κατασχευντήρσιν τοῖσδ' ἡγουμένοις;
9. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, ἀλλὰ κατθανεῖν κρατεῖ·  
πεπαιτέρα γὰρ μοῖρα τῆς τυραννίδος.
10. ἡ γὰρ τεκμηρίοισιν ἐξ οἰμωγμάτων 1365  
μαντευσόμεσθα τάνδρως ὡς ὀλωλός;
11. σάφ' εἰδότες χρὴ τῶνδε μυθεῖσθαι πέρι·  
τὸ γὰρ τοπάζειν τοῦ σάφ' εἰδέναι δίχα.
12. ταύτην ἐπαινεῖν πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι,  
τρανῶς Ἀτρεΐδην εἰδέναι κυροῦνθ' ὅπως. 1370

### ΚΑ. πολλῶν πάροιθεν καιρίως εἰρημένων

1355 τῆς μελλούσης.

1356. πέδον.

1355. μελλούσης supply from the previous line αὐτῆς, i.e. τῆς πόλεως, the city or citizens. 'From the way they begin', says the last speaker, 'it would seem they mean to enslave the city'. 'Because we delay', answer, this one impatiently. 'They, while she hesitates, trample her glory down and work un-resting!' The πόλις, as he conceives, is represented by themselves.—Various ancient writers (among them Trypho, of the time of Augustus, περὶ τρόπων III. p. 196), cite, as an Aeschylean example of μελλῶ delay, χρονίζομεν ὧδε τῆς μελλού-

χάριν. If this refers to our passage, it points to τῆς μελλούσης (Hermann). μελλῶ will then be a personification for of μέλλωτες, while they, trampling on the glory of Delay, i.e. 'of those who delay'. It may be suspected however that τῆς μελλούσης is no more than a conjecture upon a text exhibiting, as ours does, τῆς μελλούσης, where τῆς may be a note, indicating that a prose-writer would have used the article.—of δέ, μελλούσης, Cod. Farn. explaining μελλούσης by τῆς τυραννίδος δηλονότι. See further Prof. Tucker, *Class. Rev.* VII. 342, who strengthens

3. And I too am with this judgment so far, that my vote is for act. It is no moment for delay.

4. There is occasion to beware. Their beginning betokens a plan to enslave the state.

5. Yes, because we linger! They, while she hesitates, tread her honour down and work unresting.

6. I know not what advice I may find to say. To a doer it belongs to advise about the doing.

7. I too am of like mind, for I see not how with words to raise up again the dead.

8. Are we to make death of life, thus yielding to the rule of those that have defiled a house?

9. Nay, 'tis intolerable, nay, death is better. It is a milder fate than to be enslaved.

10. Are we then indeed by inference from a cry to divine that the prince hath perished?

11. Best know the facts before we hear one another talk. Guessing and knowing are two things.

12. All sides support me in assenting to this, to have clear knowledge how it is with Atreus' son.

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*Clytaemnestra.* If now I contradict all that to suit the

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(at all events) the case against *τῆς μελλοῦς κλέος*.—*πίδοι* Hermann.

1358. *To the doer (of a thing) it belongs to make plans about it*, i.e. it is of no use making suggestions where no execution is to follow. The speaker is helpless, the next even more so.—See however Prof. Tucker, *Class. Rev.* VII. 341.

1361. *βίον κτείνοντες* *slaying our life*, i.e. accepting a condition no better than death. Compare the common phrase *ὠβώσιμον* for an intolerable state. This explanation is offered by the *Cod. Farn.*, nor does it seem to me impossible.—*βίον κτείνοντες* (Canter).

1365. *τεκμηριώσιν ἐξ οἰκωγμάτων*. See *vv.* 804, 1288, 1412, 1630, *Theb.* 1015 *ἐκφορά φίλων ὄρω*, etc.

1367. *θυμοῦσθαι* (E. Ahrens, Hermann) *We had best know the facts before we*

*indulge anger*.—*μυθοῦσθαι*: literally 'to be-talk one another' (the *mutual* use of the passive voice) formed from *μῦθος* in its depreciatory sense (*talk, mere words*), *We had best know the facts before we hear one another talk*. The verb *μυθῶ* is not extant elsewhere, but the analogy of *πισθῶ*, *χρυσῶ*, 'to be-pitch, be-gold' etc., is quite as close as is required, when a word is invented to make a point. In such a case the strangeness of the formation is its merit.

1369. *ταύτην (τὴν γνώμην)* see *v.* 1347.—*πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι* lit. *I am multiplied from all sides*, i.e. *From all sides I find support* to approve this vote. Somewhat similar is the use in *Supp.* 612 *δήμου κρατοῦσα χεὶρ ὅπη πληθύνεται* (Siddgwick). The previous speaker is received with general signs of approval.

1371. See the Introduction.

τᾶναντί' εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι.  
 πῶς γάρ τις ἐχθροῖς ἐχθρὰ πορσύνων; φίλοις  
 δοκοῦσιν εἶναι πημονὴν ἀρκύστατον  
 φράξειεν ὕψος κρεῖσσον ἐκπηδήματος. 1375  
 ἐμοὶ δ' ἀγὼν ὄδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι  
 νίκης παλαιᾷς ἦλθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γε μὴν·  
 ἔστηκα δ' ἔνθ' ἔπαισ' ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις.  
 οὕτω δ' ἔπραξα καὶ τάδ' (οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι)  
 ὥς μήτε φεύγειν μήτ' ἀμύνασθαι μόρον, 1380  
 ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων  
 περιστιχίζων, πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν.  
 παῖω δέ νιν δῖς· κὰν δυοῖν οἰμώγμασιν  
 μεθῆκεν αὐτοῦ κῶλα· καὶ πεπτωκότε  
 τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονός, 1385  
 Ἄιδου νεκρῶν σωτήρος, εὐκταίαν χάριν.  
 οὕτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὀρμαίνει πεισῶν·  
 κᾶκφυσιῶν ὀξείαν αἵματος σφαγὴν  
 βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσον,  
 χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ διοσδότῃ 1390  
 γάνει σπορητὸς κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασιν.

1382. περιστοιχίζων.

1390. διδς νότω γὰρ εἰ.

1373—1375. *How should one [be ashamed of serviceable falsehood], who plots hostility against a foe? i.e. 'All is fair in war'.*—πῶς γάρ τις ἐπαισχυνθήσεται κτλ., supplied from the previous sentence. For examples see L. and Sc. s.v. πῶς, III.—ἐχθρὰ πορσύνων, literally 'contriving hostility'.—φίλοις ... εἶναι: 'with what pretends to be friendship', instrumental neuter, antithetic to ἐχθρὰ hostility, not to ἐχθροῖς.—πημονὴν ἀρκύστατον (adjective), literally 'mischief set as a snare'.—φράξειεν: the optative imperative, as in v. 936 and v. 557 where, as here, it is joined with τις.—ὕψος accusative, defining the extent of the action φράσσειν.—These verses are commonly punctuated as one sentence and

variously corrected. With πημονῆς (An-ratus) and ἀρκύστατ' ἄν (Elmsley) they are rendered, 'for how else (than by decent) could one, devising ill for foes who seem friends, fence the snares of woe too high to leap over?' But the 'semblance' or 'pretence' of friendship on the part of the assailed has nothing to do with the situation. What is to be excused is the pretence of friendship on the part of the assailant. This will apply to any explanation which makes φίλοις masculine.

1376. ἀγὼν ..νίκης struggle for victory: ἀγὼν in its proper agonistic sense, a contest in the games.—πάλαι...πυλαιάς: a sort of assonance or play, in the use of which Aeschylus resembles Shakespeare,



moment I said before, I shall feel no shame. What shame should he feel, who plots as a foe against a foe? With the semblance of friendship let him make his dangerous snare too high to be over-leaped.

For me, I have had long enough to prepare this wrestle for victory, though it has come at last. I stand where I struck, over the finished work. Even the slaying I wrought (I own it) so as to forbid escape or resistance to the death, a net unpassable, like the fisherman's round a shoal, a rich robe deadly dyed. Twice I smote him, and with two shrieks he there sank down. And when he had fallen, I gave him yet a third stroke, an offering of thanks to the nether god, to Hades, safe keeper of the dead. With that he lay, and himself gasped away his breath. And as he blew the spurts of his running blood, he rained upon me a crimson gory dew; and I rejoiced no less than beneath the sweet rain of heaven doth the corn when it bursts from the labouring sheath.

on the two possible senses of *παλαιός*, *ancient* from *πάλαι*, and *in wrestling* from *πάλη*. See *Cho.* 865 *τοιάνδε πάλην μόνος ὢν ἐφεδρος δισοῖς μέλλει...* 'Ὁρέσσης ἄψιν εἶη δ' ἐπὶ νίκη, where *ἐφεδρος*, meaning 'a third champion who waits to contend with the victor in a preliminary contest', implies that the victory of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra was itself a *νίκη παλαιά*, and is in fact an allusion to this passage. The metaphor of the *πάλη* leads up to the picture in *v.* 1378. On the Aeschylean use of equivocation in general see Appendix II. to the *Seven Against Thebes* and the Indices to that play, this and the *Choephori*, under *Verbal Equivocation*. —*νέκης* Heath, a supposed equivalent of *νέικους*, *this fighting out of an old quarrel*. The form *νέκη* for *νέικος* is not very well attested (see Blomfield *ad loc.* and *Eur. Or.* 1679), and in any case is not requisite here.

1379 *καὶ τὰς* *this also*. Even the very blow, like the rest (*v.* 1376) had been carefully thought out. This punctuation (Headlam) is preferable to joining *καὶ ἄρνῃσθαι*.

1380. *μόρον death* here signifies the

means or instrument of death, as in *Cho.* 1072 *σωτήρ, ἡ μόρον εἶπω*; *Theb.* 736 *ἐγγελατο μόρον αὐτῷ, ἰνῆ*. 1495 *δολίῳ μόρῳ δαμῆς* etc. See also the uses of *ἀτη*. —*ἀμφίβληστρον* in apposition to *μόρον*. —*ὥσπερ ..περιστιχίζων* (*g*), literally 'as one that sets (his net) about fish': the object of *περιστιχίζων* is supplied from *ἀμφίβληστρον*. —*πλοῦτον ἑλματος*: see on *v.* 949, *v.* 1101.

1384. *αὐτοῦ* 'then and there' *illico* (Hermann). —*αὐτοῦ* Voss.

1385. The third blow is compared to the third libation usually poured to *Σωτήρ* or *Ζεὺς Σωτήρ* (see *v.* 257), with an ambiguity in *σωτήρ*. Hades, the god of the lower world, is 'the *σωτήρ* of the dead', in the sense that he 'keeps them safely'. —*τοῦ κατὰ χθονός*, 'the subterranean power', is a separate substantive, to which "*Αἰδοῦ νεκρῶν σωτήρος* is added as an explanation.

1387. *ὀρμαίνει sped*, with the secondary suggestion of *panted forth* (see on *Theb.* 381). —*ὀρναίνει* Hermann (from Hesych. *ὀρναίνει: ἐρέγγεται*), *beiched*.

1390. *διοσδότῳ γάνει* Porson.

- ὥς ὧδ' ἐχόντων, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,  
χαίροιτ' ἄν, εἰ χαίροιτ', ἐγὼ δ' ἐπύχομαι.  
εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων ὥστ' ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῷ,  
τάδ' ἄν δικαίως ἦν, ὑπερδίκως μὲν οὖν. 1395  
τοσῶνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὅδε  
πλήσας ἀραίων αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει μολών.
- ΧΟ. θαυμάζομέν σου γλώσσαν, ὥς θρασύστομος,  
ἦτις τοιόνδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ κομπάζεις λόγον.
- ΚΛ. πειρᾶσθέ μου γυναικὸς ὥς ἀφράσμονος. 1400  
ἐγὼ δ' ἀτρέστῳ καρδίᾳ πρὸς εἰδότης  
λέγω· σὺ δ' αἰνεῖν εἴτε με ψέγειν θέλεις  
ὁμοιον· οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐμὸς  
πόσις, νεκρὸς δὲ τῆσδε δεξιᾶς χερὸς  
ἔργον, δικαίας τέκνονος. τάδ' ὧδ' ἔχει. 1405
- ΧΟ. τί κακόν, ὦ γύναι, στρ.  
χθονοτρεφὲς ἔδανόν ἧ ποτὸν  
πασαμένα ρύτᾱς ἐξ ἁλὸς ὀρόμενον  
τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος δημοθρόους τ' ἀράς;  
ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμες· ἀπόπολις δ' ἔσει, 1410  
μῖσος ὄμβριμον ἀστοῖς.
- ΚΛ. νῦν μὲν δικάζεις ἐκ πόλεως φυγὴν ἐμοὶ

1408. ῥύσας. ὀρώμενον.

1410. ἀταλις.

1392. She repeats with mockery the respectful form of address used at v. 846 so in the following χαίροιτ' ἄν, εἰ χαίροιτε the echo of their implied rebuke (see vv. 1031—1033) is probably not accidental.

1394—1395. εἰ ἦν. ὥστε if it had been a possible thing; cf. Eur. *Hæp.* 705 ἀλλ' ἔστι κακ τῶνδ' ὥστε σωθῆναι, τέκνον, Soph. *Phil.* 656 ἄρ' ἔστιν ὥστε κάγγυθεν θέαν λαβεῖν; etc. (Paley).—πρεπόντων (τῶν πραγμάτων), under fit circumstances, with good cause, is an adverb to ἐπισπένδειν, but placed before ὥστε as taking the emphasis. It is a genitive absolute like ὧδ' ἐχόντων in v. 1392, and the subject of

it is the same, circumstances, τῶν πραγμάτων. In fact it is this ὧδ' ἐχόντων which guides the construction of the sentence.—τάδ' ἄν ἦν πρέποντα πράγματα these would be fitting circumstances.—The grammar is clear and correct if we observe the construction of πρεπόντων. πρεπόντως Stanley, τῷδ' for τὰδ' Tyrwhitt. We should avoid the translation if it had been a fitting thing to pour libations, which does not satisfy ὥστε.—ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῷ: if ever, that is, a death might justly be the subject of religious exultation

1396. κρατῆρα...κακῶν ἀραίων The

So stands the case, ye nobles of Argos here; be glad of it, if ye will; for me, I triumph upon it. And could there be case fit for a libation over the dead, justly and more than justly this would it be. With so many imprecations of suffering homes this man hath filled the bowl which himself returning hath drained.

*Eld.* We are astonished that thy mouth bears so bold a tongue, to boast over thy dead lord in such terms.

*Cl.* Ye challenge me, supposed an unthinking woman. But I speak with unshaken courage to those who know, indifferent whether thou chooseth to praise or blame. This is Agamemnon, my husband, wrought to death by the just handicraft of this my hand. So stands the case.

*Eld.* What poison hast thou taken, woman, what drug born of the earth or draught from the great water, that thou hast brought on thyself the fury and the loud curses of yon folk? Thou hast cut off, cast off: and cast from communion shalt thou be, as a load on the people's hate.

*Cl.* Yes, now thou wouldst award to me exile from my

bowl 'full of the imprecations of suffering homes', which Agamemnon had filled for himself and now had returned to drink, is the *conjuratio* against him, provoked by the sacrifice of Argive lives. See *vv.* 464, 1234, which interpret both the imagery and the meaning of this passage. This appeal to the real or supposed wrongs of the people is for the queen's applauding partizans. See next note.—*ἐν δόμοις κακῶν* together; see *v.* 439.

1401. *εἰδότης σὺ δέ*. contrasted, not the same. *σὺ* is the last speaker representing the elders. The *εἰδότες* to whom she appeals are her own fellow-conspirators. On the other hand some receive her with execrations (*v.* 1409).

1408. *ῥυτᾶς* (Stanley) *ἐξ ὁλός*: the sea serves as the type of water and *liquid* generally as opposed to *solid* (Paley). So *ῥυτῆρος* in *Soph. O. T.* 1428, where see Jebb's note. This generic sense seems to exclude such an epithet as *ῥυτᾶς wrinkled* (see *MS.*), which however is defended by Prof. Tyrrell (*Class. Rev.*

*xiv.* 363), and is not metrically objectionable—*ὄρμενον* Abresch.

1409. *θῶος* *fury*, cf. *θεῖν* to rage (Wecklein), not *sacrifice, incense*, parallel to the other *θῶω*.—*τόδε*. They point to the crowd, which now includes many who have no connexion or sympathy with the conspiracy. But as an unprepared minority they are helpless.

1410. These exclamations seem sufficiently intelligible though not exactly constructed. 'As thou hast broken all bands, so shall all bands be broken with thee'.—*ἀπόπολις* Seidler. On the metre see *v.* 1430 and Appendix II. *ἀνέδικέ σ', ἀπέταμέν σ'* Wieseler, perhaps rightly. *ἄβριμον* *i.e.* *ἄβριμον*, but the irregular form (with a *phonetic* *μ*) may be correct.—*μῖσος* 'object of hate'. *ἀσποῖς* depends both on *μῖσος* and on *ἄβριμον* 'heavy to these people', *i.e.* a thing against which their hatred will rise and throw it off.

1411. *γυν μὲν* *yes, now*. The guilt of taking life is a discovery which they have made in her particular case.

καὶ μῖσος ἀστῶν δημόθρους τ' ἔχειν ἄράς,  
οὐ σὺν τόδ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἐναντίον φέρων·  
ὃς οὐ προτιμῶν, ὥσπερ εἰ βοτοῦ μόρον, 1415  
μήλων φλεόντων εὐπόκοις νομεύμασιν,  
ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ  
ὠδῖν', ἐπῳδὸν Ὀρηκίων ἀημάτων.  
οὐ τοῦτον ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε χρή σ' ἀνδρηλατεῖν,  
μιασματῶν ἅποιν'; ἐπήκοος δ' ἐμῶν 1420  
ἔργων δικαστῆς τραχὺς εἶ. λέγω δέ σοι  
τοιαῦτ' ἀπειλεῖν ὥς παρεσκευασμένης,  
ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων χειρὶ νικήσαντ' ἐμοῦ  
ἄρχειν, ἐὰν δὲ τοῦμπαλιν κραίῃθι θεός,  
γνώσει διδαχθεὶς ὅψε γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν. 1425

ΧΟ. μεγαλόμητις εἶ, 1427  
περίφρονα δ' ἔλακες, ὥσπερ οὖν  
φονολιβεῖ τύχα φρὴν ἐπιμαίνεται.  
λίπος ἐπ' ὁμμάτων αἵματος εὖ πρέπει.  
ἀντίετον ἔτι σέ χρὴ στερομέναν φίλων 1430  
τύμμα τύμματι τίσαι.

ΚΛ. καὶ τήνδ' ἀκούεις ὀρκίων ἐμῶν θέμιν·  
μὰ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς δίκην,  
Ἄτην Ἐρινύν θ', αἵσι τόνδ' ἔσφαξ' ἐγώ,  
οὐ μοι φόβου μέλαθρον ἑλπίς ἐμπατεῖ, 1435

1414. οὐ σὺν corr. to οὐδέν.

1418. τε λημμάτων.

1431. τύμμα τίσαι.

1413. ἔχειν to *dear*, explanatory infinitive.

1414. σὺν adverbial (v. 591), and *joimest not in laying that reproach against my husband here*. For φέρειν to *allege* see Demosth. 1328, 22 πᾶσας αἰτίας ὁλοῦν cited by L. and Sc. s.v. φέρω.—Or 'not alleging against him *as well as* against me', 'together with me'; but the arrangement of the words is against this.—τόδε: the reproach of murder.—From οὐδέν τόδ' (correction in ms.) comes οὐδέν τότ' (Voss), suggested by νῦν μέν in v. 1412. This antithesis is implied, but need not be

explicitly completed. See further on v. 1419.

1418. ἀημάτων Canter.—Ὀρηκίων: see v. 202.

1419. 'Shouldst thou not banish him?' This is not merely or altogether ironical. According to archaic law and religion, a corpse (as in the case of Polynices; see the *Seven Against Thebes*) could be both condemned and punished.—χρῆν (Porson) corresponds to the reading οὐδέν τότ' in v. 1414.—βιασμάτων g, perhaps rightly.

1421—25. 'Threaten if you please,

country, the hate of the people and their loud curses to bear. Thou dost not join in laying that reproach against him who lies here, against him who, caring no more than for the death of a beast, though his fleecy herds had sheep enough, sacrificed his own child, the darling born of my pains, to charm the winds of Thrace. Is it not he whom thou shouldst banish from Argive soil for his foul crime? No, it is in judgment of me that thou art an auditor severe! But I warn thee, threatening thus, to think that I am prepared, ready that he who conquers me in fair fight should rule me; but if fate intends the contrary, thou wilt be taught, too late, the lesson of prudence.

*Eld.* Thou art proud of thought, and presumptuous is thy note, for indeed the murderous stroke is maddening thee. The blood-fleck in thine eyes is right natural. For all this, thou shalt find thyself friendless, and pay retaliatory stroke for stroke.

*Cl.* This also for thy hearing I solemnly swear. By the accomplished justice for my child, by Doom and Revenge, to whom I offered this dead man up, my hope doth not set foot in

but remember that I am prepared to fight the contest fairly and abide by the event'. ἐκ σωφρονεῖν expresses, by sequent infinitive equivalent to ὥστε, the conditions for which she is prepared, namely 'that he who conquers me' etc. The second alternative, which for symmetry should have run in the infinitive, is turned into an independent clause.—ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν (with νικήσαντα) on fair terms is contemptuously ironical. She has her opponents at her mercy.—νικήσαντα for the prose τὸν νικήσαντα.—κράνη Herwerden.

1427. ὥσπερ .. ἐπιμαλνεται, literally 'as indeed with the blood-shedding stroke thy mind is frenzied', i.e. 'this outrageous defiance already displays the maddening fury, which sooner or later will bring thee to punishment'.

1429. The blood-fleck on thine eye doth well besem thee or 'is right natural', referring not to a stain of blood from the murdered man (which does not suit ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῦ) but rather to the bloodshot eye, which they see, or suppose them-

selves to see, in the furious face of the murderess. It is the bloody mind which shows there.

1430. ἀντίστον, if right, is a parallel form to ἀντίον (cf. ἀπεύχeros, ἀνευκτός) meaning *retributive*, *paid back*, from ἀνα-τίω to pay back, and is a predicate to τύμμα—ἀτίστον (*Cod. Farn.*) is a similar equivalent for ἀτίστον *unavenged*, a predicate to σέ—See Appendix II.

1431. τύμματι I. Voss

1432. ὀρκίων. θέμιν 'solemnity of an oath', i.e. solemn oath.—ἀκούεις, for what is to be heard, is inaccurate and irregular, though perhaps not impossible. ἀκούε γ' Herwerden, ἀκούσει γ' Headlam

1434. Ἄτην Ἐρινύν θ' in apposition to δίκην.

1435. "My hope walks not in the house of fear. A fine picturesque phrase, surely not too imaginative or metaphorical for Aeschylus. she means 'My hope does not approach fear; my confidence is dashed with no misgivings.'" Sidgwick. —ἐμπαρεῖν Victorius.



ἔως ἂν αἶθῃ πῦρ ἐφ' ἐστίας ἐμὰς  
 Αἰγισθος, ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν εὖ φρονῶν ἐμοί.  
 οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀσπίς οὐ σμικρὰ θράσους  
 κείται γυναικὸς τῆσδε λυμαντήριος,  
 Χρυσυγίδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ, 1440  
 ἣ τ' αἰχμάλωτος ἦδε καὶ τερασκόπος  
 καὶ κοινόλεκτρος τοῦδε θεσφατηλόγος,  
 πιστὴ ξύνεννος ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων,  
 ἱστοτριβής. αἶψα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην·  
 ὃ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ἣ δέ τοι κύκνου δίκην 1445  
 τὸν ὕστατον μέλψασα θανάσιμον γόον  
 κείται φιλήτως τοῦδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν  
 εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς.  
 XO. φεῦ, τίς ἂν ἐν τάχει, μὴ περιώδυνος, στρ. α'.  
 μηδὲ δεμνιοτήρης, 1450  
 μόλοι τὸν αἰεὶ φέρουσ' ἐν ἡμῖν  
 Μοῖρ' ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον, δαμέντος  
 φύλακος εὐμενεστάτου καὶ  
 πολλὰ τλάντος γυναικὸς διαί,  
 πρὸς γυναικὸς δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον. 1455

1436. *Kindles fire for the lighting of mine altars*, i.e. shares my home and power. The form of expression is adapted to Aegisthus' last exploit, the beacon-fire and the consequent 'sending round' of sacrifice (*περίπνευσι* *vv.* 87—96) to the houses and altars (*v.* 600) of Argos, in fact to the whole successful conduct of the conspiracy. See the Introduction. For the plural *ἐστίας*, see Eur. *Her.* 143 *πολλῶν ἐστίας*. In thus speaking of Argos as *hers* Clytaemnestra significantly assumes on behalf of herself and Aegisthus the place of the dead king.—For the use of *ἐπί* see L. and Sc. s. *v.* C III. 1.—*ἐμῆς* Porson.

1438. Literally 'he there (a broad shield of confidence to us) lies as the outrager of his wife here...and she also'

etc. The words *ἀσπίς*...*θράσους* are in apposition not to *οὗτος* but to the whole statement *οὗτος κείται*. *λυμαντήριος*, *ἡ τε κτλ.* Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra can face the world, when they can point to the husband laid beside the mistress whom he proposed to place in his house (see Eur. *El.* 1032).

1439. *τῆσδε*: she points to herself.

1440. See Hom. *Il.* 1. 378.

1443. *πιστὴ*...*σελμάτων*, literally 'faithful bed-partner, though of the ship's bench'. *σελμάτων* depends upon *ξύνεννος* as a word 'of sharing'. *δὲ*, antithetic, as if to *πιστὴ μὲν*: this will still apply if we take together *ναυτίλων*...*ἱστοτριβής*.

1444. *ἱστοτριβής*. It is best to leave this, even if we cannot explain it. We have not that knowledge of sailors' lan-

the house of fear, so long as fire be kindled for the lighting of my hearths by Aegisthus, still devoted as ever to me.

For there, as our broad shield of confidence, lies, outraging his wife, my husband—the darling of each Chryseis in the Trojan camp!—and with him his captive, his augress, his oracle-monger mistress, who shared with him faithfully even the ship's bench and the canvas! But they did it not unpunished! For he lies as ye see, and she, having sung swan-like her last sad song of death, lies by him loveably, adding to the sweet of my triumph a spice of sex.

*Eld.* Ah, could some death come quick, which without agony, without pillowed watch, might bring to us the endless sleep, now that our kindest protector is laid low, who, having much endured for a woman's sin, hath by a woman lost his life!

guage in Aeschylus' time, which would enable us to say what terms a woman like Clytaemnestra might borrow from it to apply to a woman like Cassandra, or what those terms might mean.—*ισοτριβής* (Pauw): *ναυτιῶν σελημάτων ισοτριβής* is variously translated, 'nautis aequae cum transtris trita', or 'sharing alike with him the mariner's bench': *sed quare*.

1445—1447. *ὃ μὲν... τοῦδε* for *he lies as ye see, and she like his beloved*, literally 'she lies loveably to him (as he to her)'. The adverbs *οὕτως* and *φιλῆτως* are parallel. The genitive *τοῦδε* (if right) is modelled on the genitive of *relation in place*, as in Thuc. 1. 36. 2 *τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κείται* (ἡ Κέρκυρα), Herod. 2. 112 *τοῦ Ἡφαιστιῶν πρὸς νότον ἀνεμὸν κείμενον*: cf. the genitive with *ἀγχι*, *ἐντός*, *ἐπισθεν* etc., and see Kühner, *Gr. Grammar* § 418. 8 a. The dative *τῷδε* would be simpler (see v. 1581).—*φιλῆτωρ* (*lover*, from *φιλέω*) g. (and *Cod. Farn.*) has the appearance of a conjecture, and, if such, does not account for the reading *φιλῆτως*.

1447. To the joy of revenge for her daughter, and other satisfactions of the moment, the coming and death of Cassandra have added the sweetness of re-

venge for her injuries as a woman and a wife. *ἐννῆς* stands to *παροψώνημα* in the relation of a qualifying adjective, 'concerned with *ἐννῆ*' i.e. with the relations of sex, while *χλιδῆς* is an objective genitive depending on *παροψώνημα* in its verbal aspect, 'an extra-dish added to'. For the combination of genitives cf. Soph. *Ai.* 308 *ἐν ἐρείπιοις νεκρῶν ἀρελὸν φόνου*, literally 'in the corpse-wreckage of slain sheep', id. *Trach.* 1191 *τὸν Οἰτῆς Ζηνὸς πάγον*, Eur. *Phoen.* 308 *βοστρήχων... χαίτας-πλόκαμον* 'hair-plait of locks', and see Kühner, *Gr. Grammar* § 414, 4, note 3.—*χλιδῆν* Headlam, *Class. Rev.* XIV. 117, xvii. 245, taking *ἐδ. π. τῆς ἐμῆς* (nominative) as a description of Cassandra.

1451. *ἐν ἡμῖν*: dubious, but defended by Conington and others and perhaps justifiable in the sense 'bringing into us'; cf. Eur. *Med.* 424 *ἐν ἀμετέρῃ γνώμῃ ὤπασε θέσπιν δοῦδαν* put into our minds the gift of inspired song.—*φέρουσ'* *ἀν ἡμῖν* (Emperius) 'to bring us perchance eternal sleep'.

1455. For the change from the participial (*ῥαδύντος*) to the independent construction (*ἀπέφθισεν δὲ*) see v. 1287, and vv. 1457—1460 below.

- ἰὼ παρανόμους† Ἑλένα,  
 μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς  
 ψυχὰς ὀλέσας' ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ,  
 νῦν δὲ τελείαν  
 πολύμναστον ἐπηνθίσω δι' αἶμ' ἀνιπτον. 1460  
 ἧ τις ἦν τότε ἐν δόμοις  
 ἔρις ἐρίδματος ἀνδρὸς οἰζύς.  
 ΚΛ. μηδὲν θανάτου μοῖραν ἐπεύχου  
 τοῖσδε βαρυνθείς·  
 μηδ' εἰς Ἑλένην κότον ἐκτρέχης†, 1465  
 ὡς ἀνδρολέτειρ', ὡς μία πολλῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς Δαναῶν ὀλέσας'  
 ἀξύστατον ἄλγος ἔπραξεν.  
 ΧΟ. δαῖμον, ὅς ἐμπίτνεις δώμασι καὶ διφυ- ἀντ. α'.  
 οῖσι Τανταλίδαισιν, 1470

1461 ἦτις

1467 ὀλέσαν

1469. ἐμπίττεις. διφυεῖσι

1456—1462. These lines are probably to be repeated as an 'epithymium' or *burden* in the antistrophe after v. 1475 as there indicated (Burney, followed by Wecklein; cf. *vv.* 1490 and 1514). They may however be recitative not included in the *strophe*.—The suggestion of Hermann that these lines were originally antistrophic to *vv.* 1539—1549 is not probable. There is no appearance here of such injury to the text (loss of several verses and other damage) as we must on that theory suppose.

1456 was perhaps originally anapaestic (though *παρανομοῦσα* is good in sense, *Alas for the transgression of Helen*!). If so, ἰὼ *παρά πῦρ ἐνομ' οὔσ'* 'Ελένα (Housman) has some probability, literally 'Ah thou, named *Helen* from fire', *i.e.* 'whose name is a symbol of destruction', the derivation indicated being from *ἐλάνη* *fire-brand*. "I think I find the same etymology in Euripides. In

*Tro.* 891 *sgg* Hecuba is warning Menelaus against the charms of Helen *ὄραν δὲ τήνδε φεύγε, μή σ' Ἑλὴν πύθω* | *αἰρεῖ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὄμμασ', ἐξαιρεῖ πόλει*—so far the *εἰρμον* is *ἐλεῖν* (see *συμβ.* v. 693); but then she goes on—*π(μ)ρησι δ' οἴκου* surely that is a glance at *ἐλάνη*" (*J. Ph.* xvi. p. 282). The facility of the supposed corruption is obvious.—*ἰὼ σὺ παρανομος οὔσ'* 'Ελένα Wecklein.

1457—1460. Literally 'and now thou hast crowned thyself with (the destroying of) a final life, (a destruction) memorable because the blood cannot be washed off'. *ὀλέσασα νῦν δὲ ἐπηνθίσω*. For the syntax see v. 1455.—With *τελείαν* the words *ψυχὰν ὀλομένην* are supplied from the previous sentence—*ἐπηνθίσω ψυχὰν ὀλομένην*: Helen is compared to a conqueror whose glory is the lives he takes; *ἐπαινθίζεσθαι* is 'to take on oneself as a crown' or 'glory', a metaphor from *ἀνθος* a wreath. See *Theo.* 933 ἰὼ πολ-

Oh...Helen, who didst alone destroy that multitude, that great multitude of lives at Troy, now, for thy final crown, thou hast destroyed one, the stain of whose murder shall not be washed away! Surely there hath been in this house a hard-fought rivalry of fatal wives.

*Ch.* Nay, pray not for death in indignation at this. Nor turn thine anger on Helen, as if alone in destruction she had destroyed that multitude of Argive lives and wrought incomparable woe.

*Eld.* Oh Curse, how hast thou fallen on Tantalus' house in

λοῖς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους πόνοισι γυνέειν *Oh with many a gallant feat have ye crowned your lineage*, and for illustrations see the note there. For the representation of the deed as a crown see πόνοις in *Theb. l. c.* and an exact parallel in *Theb. 705* ἀλλ' αὐτάδελφον αἷμα δρέψασθαι θέλεις; *Is the blood of a brother the prize thou wouldst pluck?*, where also see note.—πολύμναστον (feminine, agreeing with ψυχάν) δὲ αἶμ' ἀνιπτον together.—There is no irregularity in these lines, nor any reason to suspect them. They are thoroughly Aeschylean both in thought and expression.

1461—1462. ἢ τις Schutz: *Surely there must have been evenhale between the houses a hard-fought rivalry for the misery of their lords*, literally 'of the husband'. Evil powers might seem to have played a match for the ruin of Agamemnon and Menelaus by means of the two wicked sisters, their wives, Clytaemnestra and Helen. The parallel has been suggested already in *vv. 1454—55* and is further pursued below, *v. 1469*.—τότε *formerly, in the past*, at the time of the marriages.—ἐν δόμοις *in the house, i.e. between the two branches of the Atreidae*.—ἔρις. οἰζὺς. literally 'contention contention-surpassed, a misery to the husband'; for the apposition of οἰζὺς in the sense 'causing misery' see on *v. 298*. ἔρις ἐρίδματος is an artificial but not unnatural figure of poetry for 'a contest in which effort surpasses effort'. In this fatal

rivalry it were hard to say which of the sisters had done better.

1463. μηδέν: emphatic negative, see *v. 783*.

1465. ἐκτρέχης f. ἐκτρέψης g and *Cod. Farn.* It is more likely that ἐκτρέχης covers some less familiar word or form

1467. ὀλέσαν agreeing with ἄλγος, f, g. ὀλέσας' *Cod. Farn.*

1468. ἀξίστατον (1) *incomparable* Klausen, Paley, *unexampled* Kennedy; literally 'that which cannot be weighed or balanced with' an equal. Clytaemnestra ironically affects to depreciate Helen's superiority in the mere number of her victims.—(2) *incurable* 'not to be healed' or 'closed', as a disease or wound. This is a possible sense, but not much to the point.—It should be noted (Sidgwick) that in Aristoph. *Clouds* 1367 ἀξίστατος is applied in some sense, which is apparently not that of this passage, to Aeschylus himself. But the word admits by etymology many meanings, and like other poetical compounds, it would follow the context.

1469. δαίμων: an apostrophe or exclamation, not an address ἐμπίτνεις Canter. διφύλοισι Hermann. The Chorus correct their judgment so far as that they attribute the fatal work of Helen and Clytaemnestra in the last resort to the evil genius of the race, and put the two sisters on the same level of triumph or shame.

κράτος τ' ἰσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν  
 καρδιόδηκτον ἐμοὶ κρατύνεις.  
 ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος δίκαν μοι  
 κόρακος ἐχθροῦ σταθεῖς ἐννόμως  
 ὕμνον ὕμνεῖν ἐπείχετ' εὐχεται. 1475  
 <ἰὼ παρανόμους† Ἑλένα κτλ.>

ΚΔ. νῦν δ' ὄρθωσας στόματος γνώμην,  
 τὸν τριπάχυιον  
 δαίμονα γέννης τῆσδε κικλήσκων.  
 ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρωσι αἱματολοιχὸς  
 νεῖρα τρέφεται, πρὶν καταλήξαι 1480  
 τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχώρ.†

ΧΟ. ἦ μέγαν οἴκοις τοῖσδε στρ. β.  
 δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν αἰνεῖς,  
 φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αἶνον ἀτη-  
 ρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου. 1485  
 ἰὼ ἱή, διαὶ Διὸς  
 παναιτίου πανεργέτα.  
 τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται ;  
 τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντὸν ἐστίν ;  
 ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ, 1490  
 πῶς σε δακρύσω ;  
 φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω ;  
 κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'

1471. Omits τε.

1472. καρδία δηκτὸν.

1475. ὕμνεῖν ἐπείχεται.

1480. νέρπει.

1487. πανεργέταν.

1471—1472. τ' Hermann. καρδιό-  
 δηκτον Abresch. Literally 'and winnest  
 a victory, equal in lives on the part of the  
 (respective) wives, that wounds me to the  
 heart'. κράτος ἰσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν.  
 This bold phrase is explained by the pre-  
 ceding context. In vv. 1457—60 Helen  
 was ironically praised as a victor who  
 had destroyed many lives (ψυχάς). Cly-  
 taemnestra, accepting and retorting the  
 irony, disputes the superiority accorded to

Helen (v. 1466 μία πολλῶν ψυχάς). Here  
 the Chorus, still in the same strain, divide  
 the credit, as it were, saying that fate has  
 won by means of the two wives a victory  
 (κράτος) equal in lives as between them,  
 i.e. one in which they may share the  
 destruction equally. — ἰσόψυχον like-  
 minded Paley; but the compounds of  
 ἰσο- rarely, if ever, have this sense (like)  
 in classical Greek but only that of equality  
 or equivalence, nor does this meaning fit



either branch, and shared between two women a life-destroying victory for which my heart is sore! Lo, on the body, methinks, like a foul bird of prey she stands, boasting to celebrate a triumph lawful and just.

Oh...Helen, who didst alone etc.

*Cl.* Nay, now thou hast mended the judgment of thy lips, in that thou callest upon the fat-fed Curse of this race. For therefrom is bred this craving of the maw for blood to lick, ever new gore (?), ere the old woe be done.

*Eld.* Verily mighty he is and malignant, the Curse of this house, of whose never-sated cruelty thou dost, alas, so grievously testify. And oh, and oh, it cometh by Zeus, the cause of all, the doer of all! For what without Him is accomplished upon men? What of all this is not of divine appointment?

O king, O king, how shall I weep for thee? Out of my heart's love what shall I say? And thou didst lie in this spider-

the context.

1473. δίκαν μοι κόρακος together · like a foul bird of prey, methinks.

1474—1475. σταθεὶς i.e. the δαίμων in the shape of Clytaemnestra.—σταθεῖς' Schutz.—ὀνόμως ..εὐχεται, literally 'boasts that lawfully he celebrates a (theme) proper for exultation', referring to Clytaemnestra's words (v. 1393) ἐγὼ δ' ἐπέχομαι· ἐλ' δ' ἦν κτλ.—ἐπέχεται matter for boasting over is object to ὕμνον ὑμνεῖν. For the form see ἀπέχετος and cf. χαρὰ matter for rejoicing, as in Soph *Trach.* 228 χαρτὸν ἐλ' τι καὶ φέρεis.—I suggest this as a simple restoration of the metre; see v. 1455.

1476. νῦν δὲ Aye, but now thou hast corrected thy saying, etc.

1477. τριπύχυνον: perhaps created on the false analogy of such forms as δίφυος —τριπύχυντον Bamberger.

1479 The apposition of the description πρὶν . . ἰχῶρ to ἔρως αἰματολοιχὸς τρέφεται is a very bold extension of the Aeschylean use noted on v. 1462 and elsewhere. Nor is the use of ἰχῶρ beyond suspicion. Dr Headlam (*Class. Rev.* XII. 247) proposes νέον ἰχῶρ a fresh appetite, or νέος ἰχῶρ fresh in appetite,

forming ἰχῶρ from ἰχῶν ( = ἰσῶν q.v.) on the analogy of μῆχαρ and μηχανῶν. I think this probably right See also *ib.* XIV. 119.—νέρεα Casaubon, Wellauer, on the evidence of Hesychius, νεῖρη· κοίλα ἐσχάτη, perhaps rightly But there is no proof against the existence of the form νεῖρος.

1482. On the metre see Appendix II

1483. ἀνείs thou dost celebrate, i.e. testify to his power.

1484. κακὸν ἀκορέστων: literally 'a fatal praise of him as never tiring of deadly stroke'. The genitive τύχας depends on ἀκορέστων (masculine)

1487. πανεργέτα *Cod. Farn* Doric genitive of πανεργέτας

1490. ἰὼ ἰὼ *Cod. Farn*

1493. κείσαι δ' . . ἐκπνέων And to think of thee lying, etc From ἐκπνέων, which (by the tense) cannot refer to the corpse, it is seen that κείσαι is a historic present. —ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι i.e. the enveloping ἀμφίβληστρον: but in relation to the whole plot the term has more significance than the speakers know, a favourite device with Aeschylus and with the Attic poets generally. See v. 321 Ἀραχναῖον αἶπος, and the Introduction.

- ἄσεβει θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων,  
 ὦμοι μοι, κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον, 1495  
 δολίῳ μόρῳ δαμείς  
 ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ.
- ΚΛ. αὐχεῖς εἶναι τόδε τοῦργον ἐμόν ;  
 μῆδ' ἐπιλεχθῆς  
 Ἄγαμεμνονίαν εἶναί μ' ἄλοχον. 1500  
 φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ  
 τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμύνς ἀλάστωρ  
 Ἀτρέως χαλεποῦ θοινατῆρος  
 τόνδ' ἀπέτισεν  
 τέλεον νεαροῖς ἐπιθύσας. 1505
- ΧΟ. ὥς μὲν ἀναίτιος εἶ 1510  
 τοῦδε φόνου τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων ;  
 πῶ πῶ ; πατρόθεν δὲ συλλή-  
 πτωρ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀλάστωρ.  
 βιάζεται δ' ὁμοσπόροις 1515  
 ἐπιρροαῖσιν αἱμάτων  
 μέλας Ἄρης ὁ παιδικᾷ προσβαίνων  
 πάχνα, κουροβόρῳ παρέξει.  
 ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ,  
 πῶς σε δακρύσω ; 1515  
 φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω ;  
 κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'

1512. ὅποι δὲ καὶ.

1513. πάχνα.

1495. κοίταν accusative 'cognate' to κεῖσαι.—ἀνελεύθερον *unfree* i.e. *of a slave*, a peculiar and significant expression. ἐλεύθερος is a term proper to legal, political, or social relations. A fly in a spider's web would not be called ἀνελεύθερος, nor a man merely because his limbs were entangled. But the fall of Agamemnon is properly ἀνελεύθερος, because the murder is the first act and sign of the new τυραννίς. See v. 1354 and

contrast the description of Orestes' enterprise in *Cho.* 862 φῶς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ δαίμων ἀρχαῖς τε πολισσονόμοις (*free and lawful government*). It is not so much the man who is lamented as the legitimate royalty and liberties of Argos, destroyed in his person. The implied thought is put explicitly by Shakespeare's Antony (*Jul. C.* 3. 2. 194) 'Great Caesar fell. O, what a fall was there, my countrymen! Then I and you and

web, dying by a wicked death, ah me, on this couch of slavery struck down by a crafty arm with a weapon of double edge! →

*Cl.* Darest thou say this deed was mine? Imagine not that I am Agamemnon's spouse No, in the shape of this dead man's wife, the bitter fiend, long since provoked by Atreus the cruel feaster, hath made by this full-grown victim payment for, those slain babes.

*Eld.* That thou art guiltless of this murder, who shall aver? It cannot, cannot be: though perchance the fiend of his sire might be thy helper. He riots in fresh streams of kindred gore, the red Manslayer, drawn to the infant blood-slot of the child-flesh served for meat.

O king, O king, how shall I weep for thee? Out of my heart's love what shall I say? And thou didst lie in this spider-

all of us fell down, Whulst bloody treason flourish'd over us'.

1499. μηδ' ἐπιλέχθης κτλ.: literally 'do not even suppose that this is I at all'. For the deponent meaning of the tense ἐπελέχθην (for which ἐπελεξάμην would be more regular) cf. προσδέρχθην *P. V.* 53, ὑποδεχθῆς *Eur. Her.* 757, ἐφράσθην *id. Hes.* 546, διελέχθην frequently, etc (*Paley*).

1503. θοινατῆρος: to Thyestes; see *v.* 1590 foll.

1504. τὸνδ' ἀπέτισεν hath made him to be payment for the slain children (*Conington*); not punished (*ἀπερίστω*).

1505. Literally 'making the full-grown victim follow the young', for τέλειος in the ritual sense see *v.* 963

1508. πῶ, Doric form of ποῦ where? used, like πῶς; and πῶθεν; in the sense *How should it be? Impossible.* Cf. πῶμαλα not at all. (*Hermann*.) *Wecklein* cites *Athen* 9 p. 402 C ὅτι Λισχόλος διατρίψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολλὰς κέρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, a mistaken explanation, but noticeable, as to the matter of fact, both here and in connexion with *v.* 686.—πατρόθεν by heredity. —συλλήπτωρ γένουτ' ἄν might be found assistant (in the dead) The fiend, pun-

ishing the crime inherited from Atreus, might be thought to have part in the act, which yet is the queen's.

1510—1511. For the conception of *Ares* as a man-devouring fiend, see on *v.* 647.—μέλας. see *Theb.* 43.—πάχνα (corrected to the dative by *Hermann*) is locative. With προβαλῶν (*Canter*, on metrical grounds) πάχνα would be instrumental, meaning 'drawn on by the blood'. πάχνη is properly the clot, or blood congealed (see πήγνυμι, πεπηγώς), and the notion (whether with προβαλῶν or προβαλῶν) is that the old crime is a lure which brings the fiend of murder again to the house. On the metrical question see Appendix II.—παιδικᾶ: see *v.* 1593 παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν, and for parallel uses of the form in -ικος cf. ὕικόν δέρμα σκῆν of a pig, ἱππικὰ φρονάγματα neighing of horses, ἀνδρικὸς ἰδρώς sweat of a man, etc.—κουροβόρῳ παρέξει in apposition, literally 'the serving of children as meat', i.e. 'children served as meat', the abstract παρέξις (from παρασχεῖν, see *v.* 1593 above cited) being used for the concrete, serving for that which is served.—For other corrections suggested see *Wecklein's* Appendix.

ἄσεβεῖ θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων,  
 ὦμοι μοι, κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον,  
 δολίῳ μόρῳ δαμείς  
 ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ.

1520

ΧΟ.Β'. οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον οἶμαι θάνατον  
 τῷδε γενέσθαι,—

ΚΛ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος δολίαν αἶτην  
 οἰκοισιν ἔθηκ' ;  
 ἀλλ' ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνος ἀερθὲν  
 τὴν πολὺκλαυτόν τ' Ἰφιγένειαν†  
 ἀνάξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχω  
 μηδὲν ἐν Αἰδου μεγαλαυχεῖτω,  
 ξιφὸδηλήτῳ  
 θανάτῳ τίσας ἅπερ ἤρξεν.

1525

1530

ΧΟ. ἀμνηχανῶ φροντίδος στερηθεῖς  
 εὐπάλαμον μέριμναν,  
 ὅπα τράπωμαι, πίτνοντος οἴκου.  
 δέδοικα δ' ὄμβρου κτύπον δομοσφαλῇ  
 τὸν αἵματηρόν. ψεκᾶς δὲ λήγει,  
 Δίκα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα θηγάνει βλάβης  
 πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάναις † μοῖρα.

στρ. γ.

1535

1533. εὐπάλαμον.

1537. θήγει.

1522—23. One of the queen's party, indignant at the repeated accusation of setting up a *tyrannis* (see on v. 1495), begins to answer the elders on this point, *This man, methinks, is not the victim of despotism, nor—*, but here Clytaemnestra, who is in no mood for such a discussion, fiercely breaks out again upon her personal wrongs. The incident is significant. In every revolution a large part is played by those who are deceived as to the nature of their cause and the effect of their action. For the truth of the scene and with a view to the counter-revolution in the *Choephori*, it is proper that the error and disappointment of this class should be shown. The speaker, who would defend the murder as tyrannicide, is wrong

and the elders right: Clytaemnestra could stand only by the suppression of all law and opinion. Her behaviour is already ominous, and before the end of the play the situation defines itself beyond mistake.—These lines, which cannot be spoken by any one of the *dramatis personae* noticed in the MS. list, are generally struck out as an interpolation (Seidler), but see notes on v. 363 and v. 1649, and Appendix III.

1524. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος κτλ.: literally 'Then did not he either (or 'he on his part') commit treachery against his house?' i.e. 'It is hard forsooth that he should suffer treachery (v. 1520), for he did not practise it!'

1526—28. We may accept either

۱۰۰۰ ریال و ۲۰۰۰ ریال و ۳۰۰۰ ریال و ۴۰۰۰ ریال و ۵۰۰۰ ریال  
 و ۶۰۰۰ ریال و ۷۰۰۰ ریال و ۸۰۰۰ ریال و ۹۰۰۰ ریال و ۱۰۰۰۰ ریال

A. Compton has been named as one of the persons

Cl. said that he was never involved in a serious relationship  
in his life. They, for the time he did in the University days of his  
and even, any long-term relationship, would be short-lived. He  
has never been married or dated, but he has had sex with women  
occasionally.

[illegible][illegible]

10. Another form of law is in an agreement to do an injury, independent from the law itself. Managers know the consequences and do it for a living. Some of the law is written in the law of the land.

There are several signs in the above text that suggest a lack of understanding of the concept of "significance" in statistics. The student seems to be confused about the meaning of "significance" and is using it in a way that is not consistent with its statistical meaning. The student also seems to be confused about the meaning of "p-value" and is using it in a way that is not consistent with its statistical meaning. The student's writing is also somewhat disorganized and lacks clear structure.

1895-1896

[illegible]



- ἰὼ γὰ γὰ, εἴθε μ' ἐδέξω,  
 πρὶν τόνδ' ἐπιδεῖν ἀργυροτοίχου 1540  
 δροίτας κατέχοντα χαμεύναν.  
 τίς ὁ θάψων νιν; τίς ὁ θρηνήσων;  
 ἦ σὺ τόδ' ἔρξαι τλήσῃ, κτείνασ'  
 ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς ἀποκωκῦσαι  
 ψυχὴν, ἄχαριν χάριν ἀντ' ἔργων 1545  
 μεγάλων ἀδίκως ἐπικρᾶναι;  
 τίς δ' ἐπιτύμβιος αἶνος ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θείῳ  
 ξὺν δακρύοις ἰάπτων  
 ἀληθείᾳ φρενῶν πονήσει;  
 ΚΛ. οὐ σέ προσήκει τὸ μέλημ' ἀλέγειν 1550  
 τοῦτο· πρὸς ἡμῶν  
 κάππεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν,  
 οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων,  
 ἀλλ' Ἴφιγένειά νιν ἀσπασίως  
 θυγάτηρ, ὡς χρή, 1555  
 πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα πρὸς ὠκύπορον  
 πόρθμενμ' ἀχέων  
 περὶ χεῖρα βαλοῦσα φιλήσει.  
 ΧΟ. ὄνειδος ἦκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὀνειδούς. ἀντ. γ. 1560  
 δύσμαχα δ' ἐστὶ κρῖναι.  
 1560  
 φέρει φέροντ', ἐκτίνει δ' ὁ καίνων.  
 μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν χρόνῳ Διὸς  
 παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα· θέσμιον γάρ.  
 τίς ἂν γονὰν ἀραίον ἐκβάλοι δόμων;  
 κεκόλληται γένος προσάψαι. 1565

1539. 'hemichorii notam habent f g'.

1550. μέλημα λτγιν.

1558. ἰφλήσῃ.

1562. χρόνω (i.e. χρόνῳ).

1564. μέον.

to prepare the stroke. For βλάβη *hindrance*, from βλάπτειν *hinder*, see on *Theb.* 183 — It is possible also to take βλάβης with πρᾶγμα in the sense *deed of harm*. — μοῖρα covers some accusative, signifying the

instrument which Δίκη whets. θηγάναις μάχαιραν Musgrave, θηγάναισιν ἄορ Housman. Possibly it is a word unknown. — Or we may correct δίκαι to δίκαν, *Fate sharpens Justice*.

O earth, earth, would that thou hadst received me, before I had seen my lord laid thus low in the silver-sided bath! Who shall bury him? Who sing his dirge? Wilt thou dare to do it, thou, that hast slain thy husband, dare to lament his parted soul? The compensation will scarce atone the offence! But who will stand over the hero's grave, and pour forth the tearful praise with heart that truly aches?

*Cl* It belongs not to thee to regard this care. By us he fell, he died, and we will bury him, not with weeping of his household, no, but Iphigenia his daughter, as is fit, will meet her father with joy at the swift passage of the sorrowful ford, and fling her arms around him, and give him a kiss.

*Eld.* Thus is reproach answered with other reproach! 'Tis a hard case to judge. The spoiler spoiled, the slayer amerced! And it abides, while Zeus abides in time, that to him that doeth it shall be done: for lawful is it. Who can expel the cursed breed from the house? It is a kind that sticketh fast.

1539—1549. Apparently a burden to be repeated after *v.* 1565 (Burney).

1545. ἄχαριν κτλ. *A thankless compensation to award for an injury not fairly proportioned to it!* an ironically moderate expostulation.—μεγάλων δέδικως, literally 'unfairly great', are to be taken together (not δάκως ἐπικρᾶναι).

1547. ἐπιτύμβιος, a participial adjective agreeing with τίς: cf. ὁθῆριος, καίριος ποιεῖν τι, etc.—αἶνος May not this be *neuter accusative*, a parallel form to αἶον, like the comparatively rare εὐχος beside εὐχήν? The word had certainly two forms (see αἶνη) and might well have a third. Moreover the forms αἰνέ-σω, αἰνε-τός would lead us to expect a corresponding substantival form αἶνος (genit. αἰνεος): cf. εὐχος, ἀπεύχεται, τέλος, τελέσω, γένος, γενέτης etc.—ἐπιτύμβιον αἶνον Voss.

1549. πονήσει *will suffer* On the relation of the verb and participle, see *v.* 970 etc.

1550. μέλημ' ἀλέγειν (Karsten) *to regard this duty*.—If these anapaests were originally antistrophic to *vv.* 1566—

1576, two lines have been lost here or inserted there. But there is no trace of this in the text.

1557. δαίμων (originally δαίμων) *g*

1558. φιλήσει Stanley.

1562. μένοντος ἐν χρόνῳ Διὸς *so long as Zeus abides in time, i.e. for ever*, the notion that Zeus might have an end being suggested only as inconceivable.—θρόνῳ Schütz. The erroneous substitution of χρόνος for θρόνος is supposed to occur also in *Eum.* 18 and *Eum.* 1001; and in the former edition these examples were allowed, but wrongly, as I propose to show in commenting on the *Eumenides*. Nor should the change be made here

1564. γονάν ἀραῖον Hermann, *the accursed breed of successive sins*.

1565. *It is a sort that sticketh fast*, literally 'the kind is glued for the fixing on', where 'fixing on' is *transitive*. The metaphor is excluded from poetry in English, but this is accidental. προσάψαι is an explanatory infinitive. The word is from the same vocabulary as κεκόλληται itself. γένος is a variation for γονά (see previous verse), the words

<ὡ γὰ γὰ κτλ.>

- ΚΛ. ἐς τόνδ' ἐνέβη ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ  
 χρησμόν, ἐγὼ δ' οὖν  
 ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθениδᾶν  
 ὄρκους θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν,  
 δύσπλητά περ ὄνθ', ὃ δὲ λοιπόν, ἰόντ' 1570  
 ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεὰν  
 τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθένταισιν.  
 κτεάνων τε μέρος  
 βαιὸν ἐχούσῃ πᾶν, ἀπόχρη 'μοὶ δ'  
 ἀλληλοφόνους 1575  
 μανίας μελάβρων ἀφελούσῃ.

#### ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

- ὦ φέγγος εὐφρον ἡμέρας δικηφόρου,  
 φαίην ἂν ἤδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους  
 θεοὺς ἄνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχῃ,  
 ἰδὼν ὑφαντοῖς ἐν πέπλοις Ἑρινύων 1580  
 τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε κείμενον φίλως ἐμοί,  
 χερὸς πατρώας ἐκτίνοντα μηχανάς.

1570. δύσπλητα.

being practically synonymous.—πρὸς ἄτα Blomfield, 'the family (of the Atreidae) is fastened (glued) to calamity'.

1566. ἐς τόνδε literally 'up to this man' *s.e.* Agamemnon, to whose corpse she points: he is the last at present in the fatal series (see *vv.* 1561—1565)—ἐνέβη the subject is δαίμων 'the fate' or 'curse' of the family, expressed in the following clause—χρησμόν: accusative of space with ἐμβαίνειν *walk in*, as a verb of motion; cf. Eur. *Supp.* 989 τῇνδ' ἐμβαίνουσα κέλευθον, *walking this way*. The χρησμός is the path which so far fate has *walked* or *trodden*. The prophecy of Calchas (*vv.* 153 foll.) traces events up to the death of Agamemnon and only so far; and the allusion may be

to this or to some other like prophecy. It is not however necessary to suppose any prophecy more particular than the general sentence against the house. 'This', concedes the queen, 'has so far been fulfilled; let us hope that so far will be far enough'.—ἐνέβη Canter, *χρησμός* Casaubon.

1568. Πλεισθениδᾶν and Πλεισθένης γένος *v.* 1602. The origin of this family name is uncertain.

1570. δύσπλητά *g.*—τάδε στέργειν, 'that I submit to this (the past)', ἰόντα τὸν δαίμονα, 'and that he depart and vex' etc. The relation of the clauses would in later style be more exactly indicated, 'to say nothing of the past *if* he *will* now depart elsewhere'. The notion,

O earth, earth, would that etc.

*Cl* Up to this death it hath truly followed prophecy, but I now am ready to swear a compact with the Fortune of the house of Pleisthenes, that we accept, hard though it be, what is done, if henceforth he will leave this house, and harass with kin-murder some other race. A part of the wealth is not much to me who have it all, and moreover I am content if I but rid the palace of this internecine frenzy.

[Enter AEGISTHUS with Soldiers.]

*Aegisthus* Hail, kindly dawn of the day that brings justice! This hour I will confess that from above earth gods look upon and avenge the woes of men, now that I see in a robe of the Furies' weaving this man lying as I would, and paying for what the hands of his father devised.

of such a bargain and the reasonable air of Clytaemnestra's proposal is of course but a ghastly jest.

1573—1576. βαῖὼν (ἔστι). 'is a little thing to give' —Pursuing the figure of a bargain with fate, she declares herself ready to make sacrifices! If the departing δαίμων will take with him some of the εὐδαιμονία, he is welcome to take it; she can afford it *now*, and would besides readily spend something for the peace of this unfortunate house. Clytaemnestra not being herself of the Pelopid family is pleased to speak as one who has suffered much by connexion with it, and would gladly, even at some cost, have done with its boasted but unhappy genius. For the εὐδαιμονία of the Pelopidae see Eur. *Or.* 972 ἀχεται πρόπασα γέννα Πέλοπος ὃ τ' ἐπὶ μακαρίοις ξῆλος ὦν ποτ' οἴκοις, and so frequently.—τε δέ *not merely*. *but*: the substitution of δέ for τε in the second of two clauses, when τε has been promised, marks a rise or climax: see *Theb.* 571 and references there given.—ἐπὶ πόχρη is impersonal.—Difficulty has arisen here from want of punctuation. Supposing the four verses to be one sentence, Auratus changed τε in *v.* 1573 (as in that case would be proper) to δέ, and Canter struck out δέ in *v.* 1574. This

makes *hiatus* (μοι | ἀλληλοφόνους) and accordingly Erfurdt rearranged the words thus, μανίας μελάρων ἀλληλοφόνους. But in the supposed sentence κτεάνων μέρος βαῖὼν ἐχούσῃ πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι 'it suffices me to have a small part' the word πᾶν is superfluous (see Housman, *J. Ph.* xvi. 277). Nor is the sense suitable: Clytaemnestra does not offer, even in jest, to accept little: she only says with mock generosity that she would sacrifice something.—ἐχούσῃ πανεπαρκὲς ἔμοιγ'... Headlam, *Class. Rev.* xiv. 119, where see discussion.

1577. See the Introduction. The speech of Aegisthus sets forth (1) his claim or pretended claim to the throne (*vv.* 1585, 1605), (2) his hereditary feud with the dead king, (3) his own skill in directing the conspiracy.

1578. ἤδη νῦν, whereas hitherto οὐκ ἔφην. He has long vainly waited for justice. See *v.* 381.

1579. γῆς depends on ἄνωθεν: with ἀχῆ is to be supplied αὐτῶν, *i.e.* βορῶν.

1580. πέπλοις: the ἀμφιβληστρον, standing as in *v.* 1495 for a type of the plot.—Ἐρινύων: *i.e.* of just vengeance.

1581. φάωσ ἐμοί 'in a way welcome to me'.

Ἄτρεὺς γὰρ ἄρχων τῆσδε γῆς, τούτου πατὴρ,  
 πατέρα Θυέστην τὸν ἐμόν, ὡς τορῶς φράσαι,  
 αὐτοῦ τ' ἀδελφόν, ἀμφίλεκτος ὧν κράτει, 1585  
 ἠνδρηλάττησεν ἐκ πόλεώς τε καὶ δόμων.  
 καὶ προστρόπαιος ἐστίας μολὼν πάλιν  
 τλήμων Θυέστης μοῖραν ἠῦρετ' ἀσφαλῆ,  
 τὸ μὴ θανὼν πατρῶν αἰμάξαι πέδον.  
 αὐτοῦ ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατὴρ 1590  
 Ἄτρεὺς, προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως πατρὶ  
 τῶμῳ, κρεουργὸν ἡμάρ εὐθύμως ἄγειν  
 δοκῶν, παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν.  
 τὰ μὲν ποδήρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας  
 ἔθρυπ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακάς καθήμενος.† 1595  
 ἄσημα δ' αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοίᾳ λαβὼν  
 ἔσθει βορὰν ἄσωτον, ὡς ὀρᾶς, γένει.  
 κἄπειτ' ἐπιγνοὺς ἔργον οὐ καταΐσιον

1594 χρεῶν.

1585. αὐτοῦ τε· τε is irregular. Usage (as pointed out by Elmsley) requires in such a case either *πατέρα τε ἀδελφόν τε* (cf. Soph. *Trach.* 406) or *πατέρα .ἀδελφὸν δέ*. But the inaccuracy may be the poet's own.—*ἀμφίλεκτος ὧν κράτει* being questioned in his sovereignty. For the quasi-local dative see *Theb.* 683. The more deadly offence of Thyestes (v. 1192) is suppressed by his son.

1586. *τε καὶ* from his house and from the city as well.

1588. *μοῖραν ἠῦρετ' ἀσφαλῆ τὸ μὴ κτλ.* found a partial safety so far as that he did not ., literally 'obtained the saving of part'. For *μοῖρα* in its proper sense of *part* (*μείρομαι, μέρος*) see *Cho.* 237, *Theb.* 563, *Eur. Med.* 430.

1590. αὐτοῦ ξένια literally 'as an arrival-feast to (Thyestes) himself', accusative in apposition to the whole act following. The impiety of Atreus showed itself first in making the home-coming of his reconciled brother the pretended occasion for the abominable feast τοῦδε:

pointing to the corpse.—The close connexion of αὐτοῦ ξένια, and the separation of αὐτοῦ from τοῦδε, are made more plain to the hearer by the position of δέ.—It is possible also to join αὐτοῦ (on the spot) to the previous sentence.—For the metre of ξένια cf. *Cho.* 1 (Wecklein).—προθύμως .. τῶμῳ lit. 'eagerly more than to my father welcoming', φίλως as in v. 1581. The celebration of the feast was forced upon the suppliant, who had no motive for feigning this enthusiasm over the reconciliation, and regarded it rather with suspicion. Aeschylus is probably referring summarily to some known version of the story.—If προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως be stopped off separately, the text cannot be defended. "More zealous than friendly is only possible as a joke, when applied to a man who under cover of a banquet murders his brother's children, and Aegisthus is not joking" (Sidgwick).—The assonance of προθύμως .. εὐθύμως is intentional and pointed.

1594—97 Very uncertain We have



For Atreus, ruling in Argos, this man's father, being questioned in his sovereignty by Thyestes, who was (to make all clear) father to me and brother to Atreus himself, banished him from his house and from the country also. And Thyestes, having returned as a suppliant to the hearth, found, unhappy man, safety so far, that his life-blood was not shed upon his father's floor. But taking the very occasion of his arrival, Atreus, the impious father of this slain man, pretending, with eagerness to my father little welcome, to hold a glad day of festival, served him a banquet of his children's flesh. Of the extremities, the foot-parts and fingered hands, he put a mince on the top, sitting down with tables apart (?). And not knowing it at the moment for what it was, he took of the meat disguised, and ate of a meal, which, as thou seest, his race have found unwholesome. And when he perceived the monstrous thing he had done, he shrieked and fell

no independent knowledge of the story followed by Aeschylus, and the words are obscure. The sense seems to be that Atreus made from the flesh of the extremities a broth, which being spread over (*ἀνωθεν*) the roasted bodies prevented Thyestes from recognizing them for what they were until he had eaten of the *θρόμματα*.—*δοσμή*. *ὁ δ'* (Dindorf for *δοσμη δ'*) is perhaps right: *ἐσθαι* as it stands should have for subject *Atreus*: but for a similar obscurity see *συνεξελάμβει* in *v.* 1606.—*ἀνδρακάς καθήμενος* *viriliter sedens* is strictly speaking a solecism; the word *ἀνδρακάς* *man* by *man*, *singly*, requires a plural subject, and the company, not the host, should be said *καθῆσθαι ἀνδρακάς*. On the other hand such expressions are not unknown where a single person has a representative character: thus we might say in English, 'One commander advanced in large divisions, the other in small', where the phrase *in large divisions* applies properly to the army. Similarly it is not impossible that a host should be said *καθῆσθαι ἀνδρακάς* with the meaning that his company sat so.—*ἀνευθεν ἀνδρακάς καθήμενων* *apart from the company seated singly* Wecklein (ed.

1887).—The object of mentioning the arrangement of the company (according to an archaic fashion) at separate small tables is to show how the fatal mess was safely served to Thyestes only: see the account of the similar feast of Harpagos in Herod. *i.* 119, and cf. Eur. *Iph. T.* 949 *ξένια μονοτράπεζα* (Wecklein).—*αὐτῶν αὐτίκ'* *ἀγνοῖα* best taken together, with emphasis on *αὐτῶν*, 'because he did not recognize the actual bodies at the moment'. Or *αὐτῶν* (without emphasis) may go with *λαβών*, 'taking of them'.—The adverb *αὐτίκα* belongs to the verbal substantive *ἀγνοῖα*—I still think the text here not disprovable, and therefore give it under reserve. But there is much probability in the suggestion of Hermann, revived and amplified by Mr J. A. Platt (in *Class. Rev.* *xl.* 96), that Aeschylus followed a story similar to that of Seneca's *Thyestes*, Atreus cooked the bodies only and kept the recognizable extremities, to prove what had been eaten. In that case something is lost after *v.* 1594, and the passage must be otherwise injured.—Mr Brennan (*Class. Rev.* *vii.* 18) supports Casaubon's *καθήμενοις*, joining it with *δοσμη*.

ὤμωξεν, ἀμπίπτει δ' ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἑρῶν,  
 μύρον δ' ἄφερτον Πελοπίδαις ἐπεύχεται, 1600  
 λάκτισμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθεὶς ἀρᾶ,  
 οὕτως ὀλέσθαι πᾶν τὸ Πλεισθένους γένος.  
 ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰ σοὶ πεσόντα τόνδ' ἰδεῖν πάρα.  
 καὶ γὰρ δίκαιος τοῦδε τοῦ φόνου ῥαφεύς·  
 τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ' ἐπίδικ' ἀθλίῳ πατρὶ 1605  
 συνεξελαύνει τυτθὸν ὄντ' ἐν σπαργάνοις·  
 τραφέντα δ' αὖθις ἡ δίκη κατήγαγεν.  
 καὶ τοῦδε τάνδρὸς ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὢν,  
 πᾶσαν ξυνάψας μηχανὴν δυσβουλίας.  
 οὕτω καλὸν δὴ καὶ τὸ κατθανεῖν ἐμοί, 1610  
 ἰδόντα τοῦτον τῆς δίκης ἐν ἔρκεσιν.

ΧΟ. Αἰγισθ', ὑβρίζειν ἐν κακοῖσιν οὐ σέβω·  
 σὺ δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε φῆς ἐκὼν κατακτανεῖν,  
 μόνος δ' ἔποικτον τόνδε βουλευσάμενος φόνον;  
 οὐ φημ' ἀλύξειν ἐν δίκῃ τὸ σὸν κάρα 1615  
 δημορριφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμους ἀράς.

1599. ἀν' πίπτει δ' ἀπὸ σφαγῆς.

1605. ἐπὶ δέκ'

1599 ἀμπίπτει Canter.—ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἑρῶν (Auratus) i.e. ἀπὸ σφαγῆν, *disgorging the (sacrificial) meat*

1601. "It is perhaps simplest to construe this 'spurning the banquet to and his curse', *συνδίκως* being properly *one who pleads with you, an aider in the cause*. *συνδίκως* governs ἀρᾶ .... The violent crash of the banquet was the symbol (οὕτως) of the invoked destruction of the family" (Sidgwick).—οὕτως. The analogy intended is more close than that of mere overthrowing. The death of Agamemnon has been achieved, like the outrage of Atreus, under the pretence of a sacrificial feast in honour of a home-coming. With the Homeric version (see the Introduction) the similarity would be even closer, since the feast of Aegisthus was properly ξένια. Probably when the Thyestean story was first grafted on to

the legend, the λάκτισμα δείπνου also played a part in the revenge, being perhaps the signal for the treacherous assault

1605. ἐπίδικα...πατρὶ in *satisfaction of my unhappy father's claim*, literally 'as what was liable to his claim'. In mockery of Thyestes' claim to share the royal inheritance (v. 1585) Atreus pretended to have discharged all obligations by sparing and banishing along with him the third child. If the Aeschylean legend agreed with the common version in giving to Pelops three sons (Atreus, Thyestes, Chrysippus), the parallel extends to *τρίτον, me, as his lawful third*. The word ἐπίδικος was specially applied to a disputed inheritance and (with δίκαιος in v. 1604 and ἡ δίκη in v. 1607) marks the point upon which Aegisthus naturally insists, that he is 'of the royal family and

back vomiting the sacrifice, and called a terrible doom on the house of Pelops, aiding his imprecation by the spurning of the banquet, that thus might perish all the race of Pleisthenes

This is the cause which has laid this man where ye may see. And it is a justice that I am the maker of this murder. Me whom, for my miserable sire's 'just third', he sent, a swaddled babe, into exile along with him, that justice hath brought back again as a man. Even from beyond the border I reached my victim, contriving and combining the whole hard plan. And now I can even die with honour, having seen him in the toils of this just revenge.

*Eld.* Aegisthus, I care not to insult a wretch; but dost thou confess unasked to be this man's slayer, to be the sole contriver of this pitiable murder? I say that thou before justice wilt not escape, be sure, 'the people's dangerous imprecation' of stones.

represents a *legal* claim to the succession, the story of the 'banquet' being brought in chiefly *ad invidiam*. Aegisthus finds a proper answer to the cruel jest of Atreus in the fact that 'the child sent away with Thyestes as representing his right has now come back to avenge that right'.—The MS. *ἐπὶ δὲκ'* (*thirteenth child*) is absurd, and without *ἐπιδίκα*, or something of this kind, *vv.* 1604—1607 lack connexion

1608. *ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὧν* *I have reached him from my exile*, literally 'while abroad'. He compliments himself upon the skill with which he has drawn together the threads of the conspiracy and 'contrived' the execution of it, under all the disadvantages of one who dared not openly appear in the country.

1611. *ἰδόντα* for the acc. agreeing with *με* the supplied subject of *καταναίειν*, notwithstanding *ἐμοί*, see *P. V.* 234, *Soph. At.* 1006, *Eur. Med.* 814. (*Sidgwick, Wecklein*)

1612. *ὕβριζαν...* *σέβω, σὺ δὲ κτλ.* *Aegisthus—not that I care to triumph over the wretched,—dost thou etc.* They think, or try to think, not recognizing the full extent of their calamity and putting their own sense upon Aegisthus' talk of

dying (*v.* 1610), that the murderer has run to his own destruction. At the same time they reflect obliquely upon the *ὕβρις* of Aegisthus himself.

1613. *φῆς ἐκὼν* *profess unasked*, 'volunteer the statement' in modern phrase. The use of *φῆμι* extends to admission as well as assertion; see *v.* 1578. They profess surprise that he should anticipate justice (*ἐν δίκῃ* *v.* 1615) by admitting complicity.

1616. *Imprecations which the people, trust me, shall hail on thee in shape of stones, i.e.* 'their curses which will doom thee to the death of stoning'. The point of this expression, and of the emphasis on the word *δημορριφεῖς*, lies in the contrast between these *δημορριφεῖς ἀπαι* and the plot (also a *δημορριφῆς ἀπαι* in a totally different sense of the words: see *vv.* 464 and 875), of which Aegisthus has just boasted. His language brings home to the elders, for the first time, the consciousness that the 'popular conspiracy', which they dreaded, has been in actual existence all this while, and that the murderers are supported by a powerful party. They still hope however that it may be outnumbered, a hope quickly dispelled by Aegisthus' contempt.

- AI. σὺ ταῦτα φωνεῖς νερέτρα προσήμενος  
 κώπη, κρατούντων τῶν ἐπὶ ζυγῷ δορός ;  
 γνώσει γέρων ὦν ὡς διδάσκεισθαι βαρὺ  
 τῷ τηλικούτῳ σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον. 1620  
 δεσμῶν δὲ καὶ τὸ γήρας αἷ τε νήστιδες  
 δύαι διδάσκειν ἐξοχώταται φρενῶν  
 ἱατρομάντεις. οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὀρῶν τάδε ;  
 πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ παίσας μογῆς.
- XO. γύναι, σὺ τοὺς ἤκοντας ἐκ μάχης νέον 1625  
 οἰκουρὸς εὐνήν ἀνδρὸς αἰσχύνουσ' ἅμα— ;  
 ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ τόνδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον.
- AI. καὶ ταῦτα τᾶπη κλαυμάτων ἀρχηγενῇ.  
 Ὅρφεϊ δὲ γλώσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχεις.  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾶ, 1630  
 σὺ δ' ἐξορίνας ἡπίοις ὑλάγμασιν  
 ἄξει· κρατηθεῖς δ' ἡμερώτερος φανεῖ
- XO. ὥς δὴ σύ μοι τύραννος Ἀργείων ἔσει,  
 ὃς οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ τῷδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον,  
 δρᾶσαι τόδ' ἔργον οὐκ ἔτλης αὐτοκτόνως ; 1635
- AI. τὸ γὰρ δολῶσαι πρὸς γυναικὸς ἦν σαφές·  
 ἐγὼ δ' ὑποπτος ἐχθρὸς ἦ παλαιγενής.  
 ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦδε χρημάτων πειράσομαι

1617. νετέρα.

1621. δεσμῶν.

1624. πήσας.

1637. ἦ.

1638. τῶνδε.

1617. νετέρα. The reading of f (νε-τέρα) points perhaps to the form νετέρα (νετέρα): cf. νήστα· ἔσχατα, κατώτατα, Hesychius.—The two parties are compared to the *φυλῆται* (rovers of the upper tier) and *θαλαμηῖται* (lower tier) in a bireme ship (Klausen).

1619. διδάσκεισθαι...σωφρονεῖν εἰρη-μένον to have impressed upon him the lesson of prudence, literally 'to take teaching, when prudence is enjoined'. εἰρη-μένον is acc. absolute.

1621. δεσμῶν. αἷ τε νήστιδες δύαι the pains of imprisonment and the pains

of hunger.—δεσμός (Cod. Farn.) does not well account for the reading of f (and g, and presumably therefore M), and would suggest that τὸ γήρας is nominative.—καὶ τὸ γήρας διδάσκειν to teach even that age. The infinitive is explanatory, depending on *ἐσχ.* *εἰς τὰς*.

1623. *Doth not this sight warn thee?* literally 'dost thou not beware, seeing this?' a play on two senses of the word. —τάδε the whole scene.

1624. Cf. P. V. 339.—παίσας schol. on Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 173.

1625. The interrogative sentence γύ-



*Aeg.* Speakest thou so, thou, whose place is at the lower oar, while they of the deck are masters of the ship? Thine age will learn how grievous it is for one of thy years to be schooled in the dictate of prudence. Yet the pains of bonds and the pains of hunger are most surpassing mediciners to school the oldest mind. Doth not this sight warn thee? Kick not against the pricks, lest hitting thou hurt thyself.

*Eld.* Thou woman! Thou, who abodest at home, helping to defile a brave man's bed! To thee then shall warriors fresh returned from battle—? It is a captain of soldiers whose death thou hast thus 'contrived'.

*Aeg.* These words again will prove the fathers of weeping. Thy tongue is the opposite of Orpheus': for whereas he drew all things along with the joy of his voice, thy soothing bark will provoke, till thyself art drawn along. But once mastered thou wilt prove tamer.

*Eld.* And shall I think that thou shalt be despot of the Argives, who, being the 'contriver' of the king's death, didst not dare to do the deed of murder thyself?

*Aeg.* The part of deceit fell manifestly to the wife: I, as a hereditary foe, was open to be suspected. In the wealth of the

ναι. δμα—; which requires to complete it a verb such as κρατήσεις or καταστρέψει, is broken off in the violence of indignation, and the point of it is expressed in another shape. Similarly the translation requires the completion *yield* or *submit*: the change of form is made necessary by the order of words in an uninflected language—*αλχύνονσα* participle of the imperfect.—*δμα*, with another *woman*, the wife.—The elders threaten the murderer with the vengeance of the veterans. But these are already slain or overpowered, which is part of Aegisthus' meaning in his reply.

1630. ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρά. see *zv.* 1365, 1412 etc.

1631. ἡπλοῖς *soothing*, properly applicable to the music with which Orpheus tamed the beasts, is transferred to the ὀλύγματα in irony.—*νηπιός* Jacob.

1632. ἔξει. i.e. ἀπάξει, passive, *will be haled* to prison.

1633. ὡς δη...ἔσται *thou forsooth shalt be* etc.: another elliptical phrase of indignation for '(do you mean forsooth) that you shall be?'. This ellipse became fixed in the language and occurs also in *Eur. Andr.* 234, *Soph. O. C.* 809 (where see Jebb's note) and elsewhere.

1634. ἰβούλευσας: see *zv.* 1609, 1614, 1627. They harp in scorn upon his own language.

1635. αὐτοκτόνος: here 'as a sole murderer', a good example of freedom in the new application of compound words.

1637. ἡ Porson.

1638. *I.e.* he will apply the treasure and spoils of Agamemnon in payment of his hireling followers.—ἐκ τῶν δὲ Jacob.



- ἀρχειν πολιτῶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθάνορα  
 ζεύξω βαρείαις οὔτι μὴ σειραφόρον 1640  
 κριθῶντα πῶλον· ἀλλ' ὁ δυσφιλής κότῳ  
 λιμὸς ξύνοικος μαλθακὸν σφ' ἐπόψεται.  
 ΧΟ. τί δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἀπὸ ψυχῆς κακῆς  
 οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠνάριζες, ἀλλὰ σὺν γυνή,  
 χώρας μίασμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων, 1645  
 ἔκτειν' ; Ὀρέστης ἄρ' αὖ που βλέπει φάος,  
 ὅπως κατελθὼν δεῦρο πρευμαίνει τύχῃ  
 ἀμφοῖν γένηται τοῖνδε παγκρατῆς φονεύς ;  
 ΑΙ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς τάδ' ἔρδειν καὶ λέγειν, γινώσκει τάχα.  
 ΔΟΧ. εἶτα δὴ, φίλοι λοχίται, τοῦργον οὐχ ἑκάς τόδε. 1650  
 ΑΙ. εἶτα δὴ, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω.  
 ΧΟ. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γὰρ πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν.  
 ΔΟΧ. δεχομένοις λέγεις θανεῖν σε· τὴν τύχην δ' αἰρούμεθα.  
 ΚΛ. μηδαμῶς, ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ δράσσωμεν κακά.

1652 καὶ γὰρ μὴν.

1653. ἐρούμεθα

1640. ζεύξω βαρείαις (ζεύγλαις). Similar ellipses are πληγῆναι πολλὰς (πληγὰς), γινῶναι τὴν νικῶσαν (γνώμην). — οὔτι μὴ. κριθῶντα *not, be assured, with high feeding, like a horse for the trace.* The horse which ran with a separate trace (σειραφόρος) is contrasted with those driven under the yoke. The strength of the trace-horse was of great importance at the turns of the chariot-race: hence κριθῶντα (Wecklein). — The appearance of irregularity in this sentence (οὔ μὴ or οὔτι μὴ being properly constructed with finite verbs, subj. or future indicative) is an appearance only. In reality the negative applies by relation to the verb ζεύξω — οὔτι μὴν Karsten

1641. ὁ δυσφιλής κότῳ λιμὸς ξύνοικος *hunger that will not dwell at peace with rage, literally 'hunger, that is to rage ill-friendly as a housemate', so called because where hunger comes rage is 'turned out of doors', or in plain words*

the angry spirit is tamed — δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ Scaliger

1643. The haste, with which Aegisthus drops the topic of his part in the exploit and falls back upon threats (*see* 1636—42), shows that, notwithstanding his plausible reply, he is sensitive to the taunt of cowardice and care for his own safety. Accordingly his enemies instantly urge it again.

1644. αὐτὸς: by thyself, *alone*. — σὺν *with thee* For the separate adverbial preposition *see* *vv.* 891, 1270, 1358. *Why must his wife join with thee in the murder?* — There is no error here: it is the cue of the speakers to treat Aegisthus as primarily responsible, according to his own declaration. The reading has been suspected only from the misrepresentation of the plot, which gives Aegisthus no part to play and thus obscures the meaning not only of these lines but of the whole scene. See the Introduction.

dead man I shall seek the means of control. On the disobedient subject I shall lay a heavy yoke, and give him, I warrant you, less than a tracer's provender. Yes, hunger, which doth not mate peaceably with wrath, shall not leave him till he is mild.

*Eld.* Why then of thy cowardice didst thou not butcher the victim alone? Why, to the defilement of our country and our country's gods, join the wife with thee in the murder? Oh, doth Orestes haply live, that by grace of fortune he may return to this land, and slay this pair victoriously?

*Aeg.* Nay then, if thou wilt so say and do, thou shalt have a lesson at once!

*A Soldier of Aegisthus.* Come on, comrades! Our work is not far off now.

*Aeg.* Come on! Make ready! Draw every man his sword!

*Eld.* Nay, I too, sword in hand, am prepared to die.

*Soldier.* 'To die!' An acceptable word! We take the moment.

*Cl.* Nay, dearest, let us do no more ill. What is done is

1645. *χώρας ἑγχαρπών* in apposition to the notion τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα κτείνειν.

1649—53. There is some uncertainty here as to the distribution of the parts. The tradition, as originally given by *l*, divides them thus: 1649 *Aeg.*, 1650 *Cho.*, 1651 *Aeg.*, 1652 *Aeg.*, 1653 *Cho.* At 1651 the mark is corrected to *Cho.* and the arrangement so corrected agrees with *g* and *h*. The arrangement now generally prevalent gives 1649—50 and 1652 to Aegisthus, 1651 and 1653 to the elders; some further suppose that a verse is lost before 1650. The difficulty has arisen, I believe, from the fact that there are really not two parties, as commonly supposed, but three, Aegisthus, the elders, and the *λοχίται* (mercenary guards) of Aegisthus. One of these *λοχίται* speaks. The distribution above given is to be understood thus: seeing the turn which the altercation is taking one of Aegisthus' impatient troop (1650) exclaims with joy to his comrades that they will not have to wait much longer. At Aegisthus' order (1651) they draw their swords,

whereupon the elders and the few who are with them draw also and prepare to sell their lives dearly (*οὐκ ἀναβρομαί θανεῖν*). The others eagerly accept their defiance and are at the point to fall on when Clytaemnestra interferes.—For ancient evidence supporting this view see Appendix III.

1649. *γνώσει τάχα* 'thou shalt have an immediate lesson', contrasted with the long discipline of imprisonment. The emphasis is on *τάχα*.

1652. *μὴν κἀγὼ* Porson.

1653. *αἰρούμεθα* Auratus. *δεχομένοις* and *τὴν τύχην αἰρούμεθα* mean the same thing, that they accept the favourable omen of the others' despair.

1654 The motive of Clytaemnestra in this interference, in spite of her edifying piety, is not scruple or mercy, but interest. It is essential to the tyrants that the elders should remain prisoners and hostages, and therefore that they should not be killed. As to liberating them, there is no question of it. See on *vv.* 1656, 1659.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰδ' ἐξαμῆσαι πολλά, δύστηνον θέρος. 1655  
πημονῆς δ' ἄλις γ' ὑπάρχει· μηδὲν αἰματώμεθα.

†στείχετε δ' οἱ γέροντες πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους  
τούσδε,

πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρξαντες καιρόν· χρῆν τὰδ' ὥς ἐπρά-  
ξαμεν.†

εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἄλις γ', ἐχοίμεθ' ἄν,  
δαίμονος χηλῇ βαρεῖα δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι. 1660  
ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος γυναικός, εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ μαθεῖν.

AI. ἀλλ' τούσδε μοι ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ὧδ' ἀπανθίσαι  
κάκβαλεῖν ἔπη τοιαῦτα δαίμονος πειρωμένους.  
†σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἀμαρτήτων κρατοῦντα.

XO. οὐκ ἂν Ἀργείων τόδ' εἴη, φῶτα προσσαίνειν κακόν.

AI. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σ' ἐν ὑστέραισιν ἡμέραις μέτεμ' ἔτι. 1666

XO. οὐκ, ἐὰν δαίμων Ὀρέστην δεῦρ' ἀπευθύνη μολεῖν.

AI. οἶδ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐλπίδας σιτουμένους.

XO. πρᾶσσε, πιαίνου, μαιίνων τὴν δίκην· ἐπεὶ πάρα.

AI. ἴσθι μοι δώσων ἅποινα τῇσδε μαυρίας χάριν. 1670

1655. δ ἔρος.

1663 δαίμονας.

1655. "The order of the words points to taking πολλά as predicate, *Even these are many to reap, a bitter harvest*. The commoner rendering *Even to reap these many woes is a bitter harvest* is possible, but would rather require τοσαῦτα." Sidgwick.—θέρος Schutz.

1656. πημονῆς δ' ἄλις γ' ὑπάρχει *let punishment at least begin with what is enough. let us shed no blood*, literally 'as to punishment, make beginning of it at all events to a sufficient extent'. πημονῆς *pains* but with the secondary suggestion of punishment (cf. our *pains and penalties*), as in *P. V.* σοὶ ἐνέτευξας ἀμαρτοῦσαν ἐν πημοναῖς and in that play frequently. For the construction of the genitive with ὑπάρχειν see *L.* and *Sc. v.*—The disciplinary imprisonment, which Aegisthus has promised, may prove sufficient to subdue rebellion, so

that to inflict death would be premature. The point is put still more clearly in *v.* 1659.—ὑπάρχει Scalger.

1657—58 are beyond restoration: ἔρξαντα *g, h: M* probably had ἔρξαντας, as Mr Housman infers, but it is doubtful even whether this ἔρξαντας, or the word which it represents, is from ἔρδω, ῥέζω or from ἐργω. The general sense may be *στείχετ' ἤδη τοῖς γέροντας πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους | πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρξαντες ἀρκεῖν χρῆν τὰδ' ὥς ἐπράξαμεν*, 'go at once and take them to prison before they come to harm, we should have been content with what was done', an order addressed to her attendants and spoken as if she would gladly save the elders from their own folly. The expression δόμους *πεπρωμένους* *destined dwelling-place* is perhaps not inapplicable to a prison. All however is uncertain.

much to reap, a bitter harvest. Begin pain with enough; but let us have no bloodshed. Go ye at once and confine these old men to their destined dwelling-place before they come to harm (?). With our work, as it was accomplished, we should have been content (?). And if we should find that enough has been inflicted, there we will stop, sore smitten as we have been by the heavy heel of fate. This is a woman's lesson, if any deigns to learn.

*Aeg.* And must they thus flaunt the folly of their tongues against me, and tempt fate with a fling of such high words?

*Cl. (?)* And when they lose their senses, must he who is master of them do the like?

*Eld.* It is not the way in Argos to fawn upon a villain!

*Aeg.* Well, I will come up with thee one of these days yet.

*Eld.* Not if heaven guide Orestes back to the land.

*Aeg.* I know myself how exiles feed upon hopes.

*Eld.* Go on, make thee fat, and befoul the good cause, as thou canst.

*Aeg.* Be sure thou shalt make me amends for this kind insolence!

1659. *And if we find that this suffering has gone far enough, we will stay our hand*, literally 'if of these sufferings there should prove to have been *enough*' (ye throws the emphasis upon *ἄλς*), if, that is, confinement and starvation produce submission.—*μόχθων* This word like *πημονή* is applied in the *Prometheus* repeatedly to the punishment of the hero.—*ἔχουμεθ' ἄν* 'we will refrain or stop and inflict no more'. For this sense of the verb see examples in L. and Sc. s.v. C, iv.—*δεχόμεθ'* Martin

1660. *Smitten as we have been by the grievous spur of fate*. She speaks of the murders already done as an unhappy necessity.—*χρηλῇ* Wecklein compares *Pers.* 518 ὦ δυσπρόνῃτε δαίμον ὡς ἄγαν βαρὺς | ποδοῖν ἐνὶ ἁλλοῦ παντὶ Περσικῷ γένοι.

1661. *ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ..ἀπανθίσαι* *flaunt the folly of their tongues*, literally 'make a foolish tongue break out in bloom'. Cf. R. Browning, *Caliban upon*

*Setebos*, 'letting the rank tongue blossom into speech'. This, rather than 'cull the flower' of the tongue, is the sense which the context suggests.—The infinitive is the exclamatory infinitive of indignation.

1663. *δαίμονος* Casaubon.

1664. If δ' is correct, the verse is not a continuation of the foregoing, which would require either *καί* or *τε*. Perhaps therefore it should be given to Clytaemnestra and written thus, *σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἀμαρτῇ τὸν κρατοῦνθ' ἀμαρτάνειν*, literally 'But that he who is master of them should lose his senses along with them!' i.e. 'If they are foolish, need you therefore let yourself be provoked into the folly of killing them?' The association of *ἀμαρτῇ* *ἀμαρτάνειν* is in the poet's manner, and on the other hand *ἀμαρτάνειν* might drop off as a supposed double reading.

1665. Aegisthus is with difficulty restrained from putting the elders to death, and they are led away, answering with

ΧΟ. κόμπασον θαρσῶν, ἀλέκτωρ ὥστε θηλείας πέλας.

ΚΛ. μὴ προτιμήσης ματαίων τῶνδ' ὑλαγμάτων· ἐγὼ  
καὶ σὺ θήσομεν κρατοῦντε τῶνδε δωμάτων καλῶς.

1671. ὥσπερ.

1672—3. Omits ἐγὼ and καλῶς.

defiant taunts his threats of executing his purpose another time.

1670. τῆσδε μωρίας χάριν a periphrasis for τῆσδε μωρίας, but not quite

synonymous with it. It has an ironical force, as in English we might say, 'I will thank you another time for these insults'.



*Eld.* Brag, brag with boldness, like a cock beside his hen!

*Cl.* Care not for this idle barking. I and thou will make good order, masters we of this house.

1671. ὥστε Scaliger.

1672 προσημῆσις... ὀλαγμάτων: for the loose construction, imitating that of φροντίζειν, is cited Eur. *Alc.* 761.

16. ἐγώ, φησί, καὶ σὺ κρατοῦντες

τῶνδε τῶν δωμάτων διαθησόμεθα τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς καλῶς schol., whence the words ἐγώ and καλῶς are supplied in the text (Canter, Auratus).

## APPENDIX I.

### A.

v. 2.

κοιμώμενος

στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην.

Two interpretations have been suggested: (1), reading στέγης and taking ἄγκαθεν for ἀνέκαθεν, *sleeping above (on?) the roof*. A gloss in Hesychius shows that this interpretation is ancient. But ἄγκαθεν is not a legitimate contraction for ἀνέκαθεν, nor does ἀνέκαθεν mean *on*, but *above or from above*. This therefore is generally abandoned.

(2), *couched on the roof, resting dog-like upon my arm* (Hermann). This is provisionally accepted; but (a) the use of the dative is dubious; there is nothing in κοιμώμενος to determine the dative (which in itself signifies merely relation of some kind) to the meaning *on*: κοιμώμενος στέγαις, if the dative were taken as quasi-local, should mean *sleeping in the house*, as στέγαις δέχεσθαι (Eur. *Or.* 46) means *to receive in the house, under (not on) the roof*, and σφύζεσθαι στέγαις (Eur. *Hec.* 1014) *to be kept in the house*. (b) ἄγκαθεν does not mean *on the arm* but *in the arms*: ἀγκά-s, ἄγκα-θεν, ἀγκά-λη etc. are regularly used of the *inside* of the bent arm, and to describe the act of embracing (see Aesch. *Eum.* 80). Hermann, to forestall this objection, points out that ἀγκά-ων means both the hollow and the angle of the arm. But the difference of stem is not immaterial. Moreover here κοιμώμενος itself suggests that ἄγκαθεν has its proper sense: κοιμᾶσθαι γυναικὶ ἄγκαθεν and βρέφος μητρὶ ἄγκαθεν κεκείμενο would be natural and regular expressions in the language of poetry for *the babe was sleeping in its mother's arms*, etc., the datives being common datives of relation. (c) a man could hardly describe himself as having lain in a certain posture *for a year*.

The words κοιμώμενος στέγαις ἄγκαθεν can, I believe, mean nothing but κοιμώμενος στεγῶν ἐν ἀγκάλαις *lulled in the embrace of the roof*. Is

this a conceivable expression? For this speaker and in this situation I think it is. In the *Prometheus* (1049) Hermes says to the hero

φάραγγα βροντῇ καὶ κεραυνίᾳ φλογὶ  
πατὴρ σπαράξει τήνδε, καὶ κρύψει δέμας  
τὸ σὸν, πετραία δ' ἀγκάλη σε βαστάσει,

comparing the sufferer ironically to a child carried softly in the arms. If the sentinel were represented lying in an angle of sloping roofs (and no position would be more natural) he might well describe himself, with an irony like that of Hermes but differing as the persons differ, as 'cradled in the roof's embrace'. The metaphor is not more strong than *κυμάτων ἐν ἀγκάλαις* cited from some poet (probably Aeschylus) by Aristophanes (*Ran.* 704). The words *κυνὸς δίκην* do not affect the question. There is no need to join them specially with *κοιμώμενος...* *ἀγκαθεν*: and they may mean no more than that the man is made to pass the night, like a watch-dog, in the open air.

## B.

vv. 49—51. τρόπον αἰγυπῶν οἷτ' ἐκπατίοις  
ἄλγεσι παίδων, ὕπατοι λεχέων,  
στροφοδινοῦνται κτλ.

*Like vultures, who, vexed by boys in the supreme solitudes where they nest, wheel round and round, etc.*

All the commentaries on this passage start from the assumption that *παίδων* means the 'children', that is, the 'young' of the birds. I think this doubtful: *παῖς* *prima facie* does not mean 'offspring' but 'a young human being'; the word meaning 'offspring', and as such common to men and beasts, is *τέκνον* (see Aesch. *Theb.* 278 etc.), and the distinction is supported by many examples from every kind of poetry. Apparent exceptions (at least in writers whose usage may properly be supposed to illustrate the instinct of Aeschylus) either prove nothing to the point or prove the strength of the rule. Thus in Aesch. *Pers.* 580 fish are called *ἄναυδοι παῖδες τᾶς ἀμιάντων*, which of course proves nothing. The nightingale is *παιδολέτωρ* (*Rhes.* 549), because she is *Philomela*, mourning for her son: Medea (Eur. *Med.* 1407) is *παιδοφόνος* *λέαινα*. These are for the rule. In Eur. *Ion* 175 the birds are commanded *μὴ παιδουργεῖν* in the temple, an expression proper to the human relation being borrowed for decency and to avoid a coarser term. How naturally human, to the ear of Aeschylus, was the word *παῖς* is shown by *Ag.* 722,

where the lion-whelp is *εὐφιλόπαις*: the epithet would be unintelligible, if there could be any doubt that *παῖς* means a human being.

Doubtless the human word might be transferred to animals, *if the context disproved the ordinary interpretation and compelled the other*; but there is nothing in the present passage to exclude the ordinary meaning; on the contrary, the purpose of the simile naturally requires the mention of the offenders, and indeed without this, how does it appear that the young birds are *stolen*? The words *πόνον ὀρταλίων ὀλέσαντες*, which have suggested the other rendering, come too late to preclude the natural and *prima facie* interpretation of *παῖδων*. We must take then *παῖδων* in its proper sense for the *boys*, who rob the nest, answering to the *ἀγρόται*, not to the *τέκνα*, of the Homeric simile which Aeschylus is imitating (cited by Bochart, Hermann etc.) *κλαῖόν τε λιγέως ἀδινώτερον ἢ τ' οἰωνοί, φῆναι ἢ αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψύνυχες, ὁσί τε τέκνα ἀγρόται ἐξείλοντο, πάρος πετεηνὰ γενέσθαι* (*Od.* 16. 216). The genitive will then be that of the subject or origin, and *ἀλγεσι παῖδων* will be literally 'in grief from boys'.

For *ἐκπάτιος* the old interpretation of Hesychius, *ἐκπάτιον· τὸ ἐξω πάτον*, 'that which is solitary, away from the haunts of man', is correct. The word *πάτος* *tread* seems to have gone out of use in its primary sense as early as Homer, who has it several times in the same restricted meaning *haunt of man*, as opposed to solitary places, such as hills and deserts. Thus Poseidon (*Il.* 20. 137) invites the gods to retire *ἐκ πάτον ἐς σκοπὴν*, and Bellerophon wanders in the Aleian plain, *ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλειύνων* (*Il.* 6. 202). Here the word applies properly to the birds themselves<sup>1</sup>, but is transferred to their feelings (*ἄλγη*) by a usage in which Greek poetry is peculiarly bold. The present case is little if at all more different from our habit of language than e.g. *Soph. Ant.* 794 *νείκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναμιον*, for 'a strife between kinsmen'. The epithet is to the point; it is an aggravation of the complaint that the robbers are also invaders.

So far I do not find any difficulty. But there remains a real difficulty in *ὑπατοι λεχέων*, commonly rendered 'high above their nest'. Mr Housman (*J. Ph.* xvi. 247) justly rejects this. "The learner of Greek, in quest of probable or even plausible reasons for believing that *ὑπατοι λεχέων* *summi cubilium* means *ὑπὲρ λεχέων* *super cubilia*, is dismissed to these references 'ἐσχάτη χθονός *Prom.* 865, ὑστάτου νεώς *Suppl.* 697, ὑπατος χώρας *Zeús Ag.* 492'. The first two of these passages *πόλις ἐσχάτη χθονός* and *οἶακος ὑστάτου νεώς* prove to him

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps to the boys, truants out of their own place, as suggested by Prof.

Campbell (*Class. Rev.* iv. 301), who however adheres to the usual view of *παῖδων*.

what he could well believe without proof, that such a phrase as *θριγκὸς ὑπατος τείχους* a coping which is the highest part of a wall is Greek, but since vultures on the wing are not the highest part of their eyries the information does not help him. Had he been referred, say, to a passage where a fish following a ship is called *ὑστατος νεώς*, then he would have been helped; but Greek literature contains no such passage: such a fish is *ὑστερος νεώς*. The third reference, meaning properly 'Zeus highest in the land' and therefore 'supreme over' it, makes for the same argument. I think it unanswerable, and conclude that if *ὑπατοι λεχέων* be taken with *στροφοδοινοῦνται* it is unintelligible. Mr Housman concludes that it is altogether unintelligible; but this I do not yet accept.

If *ὑπατοι λεχέων* is correct, the genitive must, as Mr Housman says, be of the partitive kind. But why not? No one would demur to *Ἐρώπῳ ναίουσιν* (or *εἰσιν*) *ἔσχατοι τῆς Βοιωτίας*, or to a description of the Athena of the Acropolis as *ἡ ὑπάτῃ οὔσα ἱερῶν* *she whose sanctuary is highest*, literally *she who is highest among sanctuaries*, the name of the people or the goddess standing for the place of abode. On such analogy, I submit, is formed *ὑπατοι λεχέων*, literally *highest of nests* (not of their nests), for *nesting highest* of all birds. And this reinforces the point marked by *ἐκπατίους*, that the injured parents are invaded in their own solitudes. A prose writer, if in prose such an expression could have been used at all, would have written *ὑπατοι ὄντες λεχέων*: but it is equally certain that Aeschylus would not insert the participle; his style abounds in these participial adjectives (*e.g.* *Ag.* 58).

I should translate then literally, 'who, in grief among-the-solitudes inflicted-by-boys, being-highest-nested, wheel round and round with stroke of their wings' etc., to which the paraphrase above given comes as near as our language permits.

*τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν οἱ τ' ἐκπάγλοις | ἄλγεσι παίδων ὑπατηλεχέων | στροφοδοινοῦνται* κτλ. (Dr Headlam, *Class. Rev.* xiv. 113) is unexceptionable, if the tradition must be rejected, as most assume. But I find it difficult to believe that the adjective *ἐκπάγιος* (*ἐκπάγλοις* Blomfield) has been brought into this context by a blunder.



## C.

υ. 125—129. κεδνός δε στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο λήμασι δισσοὺς  
 'Ατρείδας μαχίμους ἰδάν λαγοδαίτας  
 πομπούς τ' ἄρχας.

From the difference (δύο<sup>1</sup>) which Calchas saw between the royal brothers, he perceived that they were typified by the two different eagles, and that the appearance was ominous. The writer of λήμασι conceived the difference to lie in the *temper*s of the princes, Agamemnon being conspicuously brave, Menelaus μαλθακὸς αἰχμητῆς (*Il* 17. 588, cited by Plato *Symp.* 174 c). The eagle with white feathers in the tail and wings was commonly called πύγαργος (Schol. on υ. 117 ὁ ἐξοπύσω λευκός, ὁ ἐστὶν ὁ πύγαργος), and the word, whether because this species though larger than others was not so strong or for other reasons, was applied to *cowards*: πύγαργος εἶδος ἀετοῦ. Σοφοκλῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ δειλοῦ. ἀπὸ τῆς λευκῆς πυγῆς (*Soph. fr.* 692 A). Cf. the proverb 'showing the white feather', and see L. and Sc. s.v. πύγαργος.

Such is the ancient and traditional explanation, but it is far from satisfactory. For *first* Menelaus was not generally recognized as a coward or unwarlike and does not so figure in the extant *Epos*, though the dramatists, and perhaps some of their predecessors, invented for variety a cowardly Menelaus, similar to their mean Odysseus. In our Homer he is βοὴν ἀγαθός and his prowess is frequently celebrated. Plato, who requires for the sake of a jest to suppose him unwarlike, makes the most of a single expression divorced from the context, which shows it to be a mere insinuation made for the purpose of the moment. In this very passage of Aeschylus the epithet μαχίμους forbids such a conception. *Secondly* if the fact were so, it would be strange that Calchas should imply such an ignominy in the presence of Menelaus and his army. *Thirdly* ἰδὼν points to *visible* difference. *Fourthly* part of the present symbol, or at least something closely resembling it, is found in Sophocles (*Ant.* 113) with an explanation. There 'the eagle with snow-white wings' stands for the *Argives* distinguished by their white shields. Note also that in the passage before us not only does the word πύγαργος not occur, but there is nothing definitely referring to the tail at all. The words are 'white-marked at the back'.

Putting this together, we may well believe that the difference which

<sup>1</sup> Dr Headlam (*Class. Rev.* xiv 114) points out that δύο is predicate ('*twas* by tempers') and δισσοὺς epithet ('the

two'), not *vice versa* as commonly taken, arguing rightly from the order of the words.

Calchas 'saw' was not in the characters of the brothers, but in *the shields slung upon their backs*, and consequently that λήμασι is a false correction of some word unknown. These considerations or some of them led Haupt to propose λέμμασι and Pleitner σήμασι. But no known or credible meaning of λέμμα will fit, and it is not the *emblems* (σήματα) of the shields to which we are directed by the passage in Sophocles, but their colours. Certainty in such a matter is impossible, but a word which would fit all the conditions is the derivative, whatever it should be, not of λα- but of λιφ- *to paint*—λίμμα, ἄλιμμα, λείμμα, or ἄλειμμα. That this stem (like the Latin *lin-ere*) originally had this sense is shown by the use of ἀλείφειν (μίλτω, ψμυθίω etc., see L. and Sc. s.v.): δύο λίμμασι *different in their tincts* gives the sense we should seek. Critically it is little less probable than λήμασι itself. The type of error is common (see e.g. *Ag.* 867).

## D.

π. 146—149. τόσσων περ εὐφρων, καλά,  
 δρόσοισιν ἀέπτοις μαλερῶν ἰόντων  
 πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις  
 θηρῶν ὀβρίκαλοισι τερπνά, κτλ.

*Kind as thou art, fair goddess, to the uncouth offspring of the many creatures fierce, as well as sweet unto the suckling young of all kinds that range the field, etc.*—μαλερῶν ἰόντων (θηρῶν) literally 'of fierce creatures, though they are fierce'. For the use of the form ἰών in the lyrics of tragedy cf. Eur. *Andr.* 124 ἀμφὶ λέκτρων διδύμων ἐπικοινωνοῦσαν. The reference to *fierce* animals is, strictly speaking, irrelevant, as the sympathy of the goddess had been evoked, in the case of which Calchas is speaking, by *hæres*. But the suggestion, that her universal love (note τόσσων, πάντων) extends to the savage kinds as well as the rest, is very much to his present purpose, which is to persuade her not to involve in the punishment of the Atridae the hapless Iphigenia, and to propitiate her on behalf of the 'house of the eagles'.

I have ventured to write ἰόντων for ὄντων (M), and not λεόντων, in spite of the testimony that λεόντων was actually an ancient reading. The objection to λεόντων is mainly critical.

In the first place λεόντων is inconsistent with τόσσων. But further, if the original reading was δρόσοισιν ἀέπτοις μαλερῶν λεόντων, it is hard to account for the reading of M, δρόσοισιν ἀέλπτοις μαλερῶν ὄντων, descended, as the scholium suggests, from a MS. which had ἀέπτοις. No editor would invent, except upon some supposed evi-

dence, a reading so absurd as *δρόσοισιν ἀέλπτοισι*, and none would be likely to mistake a word so common as *λεόντων*. On the other hand, if *λέοντων* was the original, the history is simple. To the line as it originally stood were appended two marginal notes, *όντων* and *λείπει τὸ λ*, the first explaining *λέοντων*, the second on the contrary proposing the correction of it given by the *Etym. Mag.*, *λέοντων*. The two notes indicated in fact the two ancient opinions about the reading. The scribe of M, or some preceding scribe, took the gloss *όντων* as a correction into the text: as the note *λείπει τὸ λ* had so lost its application, he or some other put the *λ* into the wrong word, thus manufacturing *ἀέλπτοισι*. The existence of the reading *λέοντων* is perfectly well accounted for as a slip of memory. The quotations of the ancients are even more inaccurate than those of the present day; nothing would be more likely than that a writer, who was concerned only with the use of *δρόσος*, should be misled by *μαλερωῶν* into the false quotation of the etymologist.

It may be added that *lions* have nothing to do with the matter, either directly or indirectly.

## E.

vv. 183—185. Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων  
τεύξεται φρενῶν τοπάν.

MS. κλάζων...τὸ πᾶν.

Scholia 184 ἐπὶ ἐλπίδι νίκης. 185 ὀλοσχερῶς φρόνιμος ἔσται.

The general meaning here is clear, 'trust in Zeus will not be misplaced, his strength is invincible'. Upon the words three questions arise:—(1) as to the sense of *προφρόνως*, (2) as to the reading *κλάζων*, (3) as to the reading *τὸ πᾶν*. It will be convenient to take (3) first.

In a paper in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. ix., it was pointed out that the existence and use of the words *τοπάζω*, *ὑποτοπέω*, *ἄτοπος* and others, warranted, under the general laws of Greek formation, the assumption that there also existed the corresponding words *τοπή* (or *τοπαῖ*) and *τόπος* a *conjecture*, *guess*, and *τοπάω* to *guess*, a parallel form to *τοπάζω*: that these words are very liable to be confused with others: and that they should be borne in mind in interpreting our MSS, especially those of the tragedians. These positions, in their general and *a priori* bearing, have not, so far as I know, been disputed; and are approved by (among others) Mr A. Sidgwick<sup>1</sup>. In the paper

<sup>1</sup> See his edition of the *Agamemnon*, App. II. 'The *a priori* probability' etc.

mentioned were collected the passages which seemed to require consideration from this point of view, among them *vv.* 185, 687, 982 of this play, each exhibiting the ambiguous letters *τοπαν*. Mr Sidgwick prefers *τὸ πᾶν* in each and, as will be seen from my text, I agree with him as to the two last, though as to *v.* 687 with much hesitation. In the present passage I believe that *τὸ πᾶν* cannot be interpreted, and that *τοπάν* is right. Mr Sidgwick (with modern editors generally) accepts the explanation of the scholia, and translates 'shall find wisdom altogether'. But the sense put upon *τεύξεται φρενῶν* cannot be got from the words. *Φρένες* (or *φρήν*) does not mean 'wisdom', it means *a mind*: *φρένας ἔχειν* is not 'to be wise' but *to have a consciousness or be conscious*, as in the address of Philoctetes to his bow (*Soph. Phil.* 1130) ἧ που ἔλεινόν ὄρας, φρένας εἴ τινας ἔχεις, κτλ.: *φρενῶν ἐπήβολος* is a synonym not of *σοφός* but of *ένους* and means *possessed of his intellect*, marking the difference between the man and the infant (*P. V.* 460): *φρενῶν κενός* (*Soph. Ant.* 754), *ἀποσφαλῆς* (*Aesch. P. V.* 488), *ἀμαρτάνει* (*Eur. Alc.* 327), are all, as the context will show, very strong expressions, importing the absence or loss not of *wisdom* but of sense or the faculty of thought. The exact expression *τυγχάνειν φρενῶν* I cannot find, and am not surprised, for in its proper sense it would require a very peculiar context to justify it: the nearest approach is *Soph. El.* 992, εἰ φρενῶν | ἐτίγχαν' αὐτὴ μὴ κακῶν, ἐσώξεται ἂν | τὴν εὐλάβειαν, *had she been blessed with a mind not mischievous*, where the qualification *μὴ κακῶν* would be needless and injurious, if *τυγχάνειν φρενῶν* could bear the meaning assumed for the present passage. Abundant evidence, positive and negative, goes to show that *τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν* could mean only 'will find wits' or 'will be blessed with a mind altogether', and therefore for the present purpose has not a meaning at all. On the other hand *τεύξεται φρενῶν τοπάν* *will be right in the guess of his thought* is simple, and has a special fitness here from its correlation with the preceding passage (*προσεικάσαι v.* 173) and, as will be immediately shown, with the words *προφρόνως ἐπινίκια*.

Next as to *προφρόνως*:—*πρόφρων*, literally 'forward-minded' or 'fore-minded', means elsewhere *willing* or *zealous*. But ancient tradition was right in saying that here the poet has used *προφρόνως* so as to suggest the meaning (equally admitted by the form of the word) *forecasting, prophetically, by anticipation*. That this was the ancient tradition is shown by the note in the scholia 'in expectation of his victory', which has nothing to go upon except *προφρόνως* thus interpreted. The difference is very small, in substance indeed none, but the purpose of the poet is indicated by the antithesis of *fore* and

after in προφρόνως-ἐπινίκια (properly 'such as follow a victory'), and by the correspondence between προφρόνως and φρενῶν τοπᾶν. Such development of latent capacity in a word is the very essence of poetical expression, and here saves the word προφρόνως from being flat and superfluous. The point of the whole passage and of this sentence is that Zeus' power is supreme and his triumphs therefore certain beforehand. The certainty of an event cannot be put more strongly than by saying, that 'he who guesses it will be so will be right'. Whether πρόφρων was often used by the poets in this sense, we are not in a position to say, nor is it material. The prevalence of another sense is no argument to the contrary, as may be seen from many other compounds, *e.g.* πρόδικος, πρόγονος, προεῖδον, προεῖπον, προγίγνομαι, προδίδωμι, all of which have various meanings.

Lastly as to the reading κλάζων ἐπινίκια *singing songs of victory* or κλάζων (the quasi-Doric equivalent for κληίζων) ἐπινίκια *giving titles of victory*. The ms. offers the choice, for the presence or absence of the *iota subscript* is nothing. My reasons for preferring κλάζων are (1) that the name of Zeus is the topic of the passage (*v.* 170) and the significance of that name has already been hinted (see *v.* 175 and the reference given above); (2) that κλάζω, which applies properly to harsh discordant sounds, such as the screaming of birds (*v.* 48), always, even in its looser applications, signifies the quality or tone of the sound, as deep or harsh or repellent or terrible or the like (see *vv.* 165, 211), whereas here no such suggestion can be intended. The only apparent cases I can find to support the view that κλάζων could mean merely *to sing* are Soph. *Trach.* 206, and Eur. *Ion* 905. But in the first there is an antithesis between the treble voices of women and ἀρσένων κλαγγά the *masculine* *bass*; and in the second the terms κιθάρα κλάζεις, addressed to Apollo, are purposely offensive (see the context) and suggest a comparison between the 'song' of the cruel god and the 'screams' of a bird of prey.

## F.

*v.* 288. ἐπίανεν.

Dr Headlam, defending the derivation of this word from πιαίνω, writes as follows (*On editing Aeschylus*, p. 34).

"The metaphorical uses of πιαίνω may be studied from the following:—

Lycophr. *Alex.* 1200 οὐδ' ἐπίανεν βορᾶ νηδύν (so Babrius *cvi*).



Xenophanes 2. 22 οὐ γὰρ πιαίνει ταῦτα μυχοὺς πόλεως (cf Hesych. *πιῆναι*: ὠφέλησαι, αὐξήσαι).

Agathias *A.P.* v. 294 μάστακα πιαίνων χείλεος εὐαφίη.

Opp. *Hal.* v. 372 ἐὼν φρένα πιαίνοντες.

Opp. *Hal.* v. 620 πιαίνων ἐς ἄεθλα λιγυφθόγγου μέλος αὐδῆς.

Pind. *P.* II. 55 βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσι πιαινόμενον.

Themist. *Or.* VII. 90 D θρήνων ἐρῶντες καὶ στεναγμῶν, οἰμωγῆς ἀκορεῖς, δάκρυσι πιαινόμενοι

Lex. Seguer. ἐκ τῶν Φρυνίχου (*Anecd. Bekker*, p. 51) λόγοις πιαίνειν: οἷον παραμυθεῖσθαι."

The reader will consider whether these examples are parallel to the supposed use of *πιαίνω* by Aeschylus here. To me they appear essentially different, all natural, or easily derivable from the primitive sense *to fatten*, as the other is not. I would not however deny that the use attributed to Aeschylus is conceivable. The question is not this, but whether it is preferable in probability to the alternative supposition that we have here the compound *ἐπ-ιαίνω*, which, as Blomfield remarks, 'fits the sense excellently'. Why should this compound be rejected or suspected because it does not occur elsewhere? Many verbs, and very many compounds, are now represented by single examples. Why not this one?

I take this opportunity of acknowledging generally my debt to Dr Headlam's pamphlet, which has suggested many corrections (one for example in the note here) beside those which are acknowledged specially.

## G.

v. 313. πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων.

Weil's translation is preferable. The alternative 'raising a fire larger than those before mentioned' is prosaic and inappropriate. The beacon on Cithaeron, which has the smallest distance of all to light, cannot be meant to be represented as larger than that of Athos, which was to 'pass the wide main'. But that it should be 'greater than was commanded' is natural enough.

It may be thought that there is a particular intention in this compliment paid to the enthusiasm shown upon the occasion of the triumph of Hellas over Asia by 'the watchers upon Cithaeron'. On the north slope of Cithaeron, the side to which the message came, lay the little town of Plataea, the whole of whose fighting force, unsolicited and

alone, came over the mountain to join the Athenian army just before the battle of Marathon, while all the other Greek cities delayed and made excuses. This service, which produced the deepest impression upon the Athenians and was constantly commemorated in their public prayers, cannot, I think, have been forgotten by the writer or any Athenian hearer of these lines. For the facts and an eloquent commentary upon them see Grote, *Hist. Greece*, Part II., Chap. 36. From this point of view the text is more than defensible, and the alternative reading to be next mentioned derives no support from any difficulty in the ms.

προσαιθρίζουσα πόμπιμον φλόγα.

*Raising to the skies a missive flame.* These words are cited, without name of author, by Hesychius. It was proposed by Dindorf to place them here after *φρουρά*, and though not so pointed and apposite as the ms. reading, they fit the place with an exactness surprising if accidental. On the whole it seems probable that the quotation of Hesychius really is a very ancient reading of this passage, and it is possible that both readings descend from the poet himself.

#### H.

v. 326. νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν.

*But the winner is he who ran first and last.* Two questions arise here: (1) What did this expression mean as commonly understood, in reference to an ordinary torch-race? and (2) What is the point of it here? Why, and in what sense, is it specially applicable (as it must be, or it would not be introduced) to the metaphorical 'torch-race', the chain of beacons?

The answer to the latter question is obvious. In this *pretended* λαμπαδηφορία of beacons 'the victory is won', i.e. the queen's design is accomplished, 'by the runner who ran first and last', or in other words, by the only one who 'ran' at all, the beacon upon Arachnaeus. It is a piece of 'irony', signifying to those in her confidence (and to the audience acquainted with the story) that in this case the 'head of the chain' is the whole chain.

The first question has been variously answered, but all suggestions (except that mentioned below) may be reduced to two heads: (1) 'the victory is won by the first and last runners', i.e. by the runners from first to last, by the whole chain: and (2) 'by the first runner, who is also the last' or 'although he is the last', i.e. by the runner who comes in sooner than the final runner of any other chain (and in this sense *first*) though he is the *last to run* in his own chain.

But a view, simpler at least and less artificial than these, has recently been propounded by Professor Phillimore (*Classical Review* xvii. 105).

"In analysing word for word we may break up some organic unit of phrase.... Such...there is in the words *πρῶτος—καὶ—τελευταῖος*.

(1) Herod. ix. 28 *τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο* in the order of battle at Plataea; (2) Xen. *Memor.* Γ 1. 8 (*cf. also* 9), (3) Charito *Chaereas and Callirrhoe*, i. 5 (p. 419 in Didot's *Erotici*): *Χαιρέας δ' ἔτι τῷ θυμῷ ζέων δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἀποκλείσας ἑαυτὸν ἐβασάνιζε τὰς θαραπαινίδας, πρῶτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν τὴν ἄβρᾶν*.

In (1) it means *on the extreme wing*, in (2) [the same], in (3) apparently, by a metaphor, *as a prime and final test*" [or perhaps simply *first and chiefly*] "From which I conclude that. the phrase characterizes the nearest-to-Argos of the chain of *λαμπαδηφόροι*; and (doubtfully) that Clytaemnestra's meaning is ....*and the winner in the race is my first-hand watchman, the fugleman of the array on whom all depends*".

If this is right, the popular meaning, as commonly applied to a *λαμπαδηφορία*, will be that the 'head and end' of the chain, he who runs in, is the most important man and has the most brilliant place, a remark natural to the *Graii laudis avari*, and suiting well with the special intention here.

## I.

iv. 357—359. θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκηντος εἰ μὲν οἱ στρατός,  
ἐγρηγορὸς τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων  
γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι κακά.

So this passage has commonly been punctuated. Those who retain it, as for example Mr Sidgwick, interpret it thus: "'But if the army returned without such offence to the gods, the woe of the dead might yet wake, if sudden ills did not befall'. The second 'if' is a repetition of the first in other words... 'if they kept free of such offence (and accordingly) if no...sudden judgment befell'". The sense of this is, I conceive, right, and the accumulation of parallel hypothetic clauses is not in itself objectionable. But where, as here, the clauses are separated, the result is great obscurity. And there are other objections. It does not appear why the judgment of the gods should be distinguished from the Nemesis of the dead as necessarily 'sudden'; either danger might fall at once or fall later.

Of emendations, the majority have for object to get rid of the negative in ἀναμπλάκηντος, the earliest being apparently Canter's θεοῖς δ' οὐκ ἀναμπλάκηντος, the simplest that of Pauw θεοῖς δ' ἂν ἀμπλάκηντος (a word however not unimpeachable), and the best ἐναμπλάκηντος (adopted by Dindorf). The sense would then be, 'if the army return having offended the gods, the woe of the dead may wake, though no sudden mischief should occur'. But this is still unsatisfactory. The last clause still comes too late, as an awkward afterthought, and its relation to the whole is still difficult to perceive.

Dr Headlam (*Class. Rev.* xii. 245) rejects the general assumption that an emphasis can be thrown upon τῶν ὀλωλότων. Without a stop there, the objection has force; but the final word in a Greek sentence can and often does receive emphasis, though often it has none. He would throw the sole emphasis on some word (to be substituted for ἐγρήγορον) signifying *harmless* or *assuageable*

## J.

v. 363. XO. β'. γύναι, κατ' ἄνδρα σάφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις.  
ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια  
θεοὺς προσειπεῖν εὖ παρασκευάζομαι· κτλ.

Here for the first time a question presents itself, which will occur several times hereafter in the play. What is the character of the speaker?

It is commonly assumed that every speaker, who is not one of the principal actors, is one of the elders, by whom are sung the great odes of the play. But there is no ground for assuming this. In the *Eumenides* certainly, in the *Choephori* perhaps, there is not one Chorus only, but two. And in the *Agamemnon* the assumption that there is only one Chorus and only one class of χορευταὶ makes great and hopeless difficulties.

Here we have two speeches, neither of which can be assigned to any of the principal actors, separated by a speech from Clytemnestra (vv. 329—366). The attitude of the two speakers towards the subject before them is not merely different but diametrically opposed. The first speaker (v. 329) treats the queen's proffered 'proof' of the Greek victory with a reserve which is barely saved from discourtesy. He declines to act upon it at once, and requests that the amazing story may be repeated again 'in full detail'. His behaviour is in fact distinguished from the open incredulity of the speakers at the close of

the following ode (*v.* 481) only by such a decent disguise as the queen's presence necessarily commands.

On the other hand the second speaker, he of the lines now before us, is entirely satisfied with the queen and her statement. Contradicting the other almost in his own terms, he says that after the sure proofs which he has heard 'he for his part (*ἐγώ*) will thank the gods for the victory', which is exactly what the first declines to do, till he has heard something more.

Now if these two speakers are the same person (or persons in like situation) what explains this change of mind? What has Clytaemnestra said to satisfy his curiosity and remove his hesitation? He asked for a repetition, with details, of the statement about the beacons. The queen has not taken the least notice of his request. Her reflexions may or may not be very laudable and wise, but what have they to do with the 'evidence' of the victory?

I am by no means the first to notice these difficulties, though they have been little considered. Thus on *v.* 331 Dr Wecklein says, that the speaker 'desires a repetition, a wish which Clytaemnestra satisfies to this extent, that she gives in *v.* 332, *Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῇδ' ἔχουσ'* ἐν ἡμέρῃ, the substance of the beacon-message, and appends to it reflexions' etc. If the speaker is content with this measure of satisfaction, he might surely have spared his request. The question which Clytaemnestra has professed to answer in the foregoing description of the beacons is the question of *v.* 292, 'What messenger could possibly come so quick?' Here is the 'amazing' circumstance which provokes further enquiry. And the queen satisfies this enquiry by stating that the victory is this day won?

It would be hard, I think, for two speeches to offer stronger internal evidence that they do not proceed from the same lips, than is contained in the two before us. We shall not look far for external confirmation.

It is plain that the second speaker, whoever he is, is also the singer, or one of the singers, of the hymn in anapaestic march-time which immediately follows. He proposes to praise the gods for the victory, and he does so accordingly. But are these the singers of the following strophic ode? If so, what is the meaning of the first line of that ode (*v.* 379)?

Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσ' ἀνείπειν.

'Tis a stroke of Zeus which they are able to proclaim. The MS. (f) has *ἔχουσαν εἰπεῖν* with the word *ἔχουσαν* corrected to *ἔχουσ'*. It seems certain that *ἔχουσ' ἀνείπειν* is the tradition thus represented. Yet the suggested emendations *ἔχεις ἀνείπειν* (Schmidt), *ἔχοις ἀνείπειν* (Karsten),



ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν (*Cod. Farn.*, i.e. Triclinius) etc., and the forced explanation of this last, Διὸς πλάγαν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν, by 'they (the Trojans) have the blow of Zeus to tell of'—all these are testimonies to the impossibility, upon the current assumption as to the course of the preceding scene, of reading and translating the verse in this obvious way.

But give up the attempt to assign all the speaking and singing to the same persons, and there is no difficulty. The queen comes naturally not unattended; and from the course of the play both before and afterwards it is evident (as is shown in the Introduction) that by this time there have gathered about her many of those who are in her secret. It is they who here interfere to rescue her from an embarrassing and dangerous situation. She has partly missed her effect. Those who are to be deceived have found her story more wonderful than convincing. They believe her to be the victim of a delusion (*v.* 489) and have shown a desire to press enquiries impossible to satisfy and perilous to elude. Her accomplices take up the cue and, to cover her escape, play the required part of plain citizens, who feel none of these doubts. They admire her wisdom and good feeling. They think her evidence certain. They will offer thanks to heaven accordingly. While they perform this mockery, the queen retires, and the elders are left to act as they may.

They act as might be expected, so as, if possible, not to commit themselves in any event. To the victory which the others 'can proclaim', they refer in brief, vague, and carefully guarded terms (*vv.* 379—381). Then glancing off into generalities they pursue the reflexions with which they are themselves pre-occupied, the miserable cause for which the war has been waged, the sufferings which it has caused, and the menacing discontents which are the result of those sufferings.

It then occurs to them (*v.* 481) that the news of the victory, unproved as it is, must be spreading; and in the vexation of this thought their disbelief breaks out openly, whereupon (see *v.* 595) this new turn is reported within by their observant enemies. What they might have done next we do not discover, for at this moment the herald appears and the situation is completely changed.

As to *ms.* authority on the distribution of these speeches, there is none. The *ms.* (following probably *M* itself) assigns *vv.* 363—366 to a certain ἄγγελος, first introduced in *M* as the speaker of *vv.* 270—275. The modern editors have properly dismissed this personage to limbo. The fact is that the company commonly assigned to the *Agamemnon* does not provide characters enough for this scene and others. The designation *XO.* for *v.* 363 is correct, though not complete. I have

distinguished the accomplices of Clytaemnestra (who here both speak and sing) by the designation XO. β'.

## K.

υν. 417 foll.

πολὺ δ' ἀνέστενον  
τόδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήται·  
'ὼ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι,  
ὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλόνορες·  
πάρεστι σιγᾶς αἴματος ἀλοιδόρος,  
ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων ἰδεῖν.'

I am almost unwilling to vex these lines, beautiful even in the doubt and obscurity which rest upon them, with any further attempt at exact interpretation. Whether it is worth while to do so must depend on the view we take as to the nature of the responsion in metre between strophe and antistrophe used by Aeschylus. If the last two verses originally corresponded syllable by syllable to υν. 437—8,

τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος αἶας συνορμῆνοις  
πένθει' ἀτλησικάρδιος κτλ.

the accidental injury must be greater than we can repair. By writing Ἑλλανος (Bamberger) in υ. 437 and σιγᾶς αἰτίμους ἀλοιδόρους (Hermann) in υ. 421 we may make these verses correspond with changes singly slight but not really probable. The case of υ. 422 is still harder: ἄπιστος ἐμφανῶν ἰδεῖν (Margoliouth), *not believing what is before his eyes*, though not beyond suspicion in point of grammar, is a very striking suggestion and the best made: but it is too far from the tradition to be trusted.

But since I hold, for reasons explained in the Appendix to my edition of the *Septem* and in Appendix II. to this, that, as far as the metre is concerned, both strophe and antistrophe may be right as they stand, and as I see no reason to doubt the sense of the antistrophe, I think it worth while to consider further the sense of this.

The first question is, Who are the speakers, the δόμων προφήται? Opinion was divided between 'the seers of Menelaus' house' and 'the seers of Priam's house,' till it was pointed out independently by Bamberger, H. L. Ahrens, and Housman that προφήτης does not mean a seer, but *one who interprets* or *speaks on behalf of* some one either named or implied in the context<sup>1</sup>, and that προφήται δόμων must mean

<sup>1</sup> *Theb.* 596 is no exception to this. The context sufficiently suggests the genitive θεῶν.

'those who interpreted the house' or something of this kind. The 'interpreters of the house' then, it is said, will be those who at the time of the flight of Helen represented the scene in the house of Menelaus to the elders, who would not otherwise know of it, 'purveyors of gossip about the royal family' (Housman). It is however difficult to believe that a word closely associated with supernatural powers would be applied, without explanation, to such a function as this, even if we assume that the elders would have required 'a revealer' or 'interpreter', being themselves, it would seem, as likely as any one to have had the king's confidence. I must hold therefore that the meaning of *δόμων προφήται* is still to seek.

In truth this appears to be one of those passages, which, from the loss of knowledge, familiar at the time of writing, about the terms used and the story told, cannot, except by guess-work, be explained at all. From the way in which *δόμων προφήτης* is here used it would seem to have had some fixed conventional significance, connected, as the general use of *προφήτης* would indicate, with divination. For instance, a person, who professed to report or communicate to one absent from home what was said in the house which he had quitted, might not unnaturally be called *δόμων προφήτης*, being an intermediary between the enquirer and his house, as the *προφήτης θεοῦ* between the enquirer and the god. If we may further suggest that such services were used by women, when they quitted one *δόμος* for another upon marriage, we should account for the mention of the *προφήται* here, for the bitter comparison of the rape to a marriage is pursued in this play repeatedly and in this very passage (v. 415). The 'home-interpreters' will then be the seers who at Troy revealed to Helen and Paris what was passing at Argos, sighing, in spite of their intention to mock, at the suffering which they could see. The elders put into their mouths what they know to have been the facts. The picture (whether this be the true account of it or no) was probably based upon some scene existing in literature, by reference to which it could be understood and completed.

Now as to vv. 421—422. One thing I consider certain, that *ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων* *ιδεῖν*, by whomsoever written, was not written accidentally but deliberately. The nominative to *πάρεστι* is of course *ἄνθρωπος*, the husband, supplied from *φιλόνόρος*. 'Ἀφίεσθαι γυναῖκα (see L. and Sc. s. v.) is 'to put away a wife', and *οἱ ἀφεμένοι* therefore in this context means Menelaus, by whom Helen, in the language of the robbers' irony, has been dismissed or divorced. Take this with the use of *ἡδιστος* in Soph. *Ai.* 105 *ἡδιστος, ᾧ δέσποινα, δεσμώτης ἔσω θακεί, He sits, my most delightful prisoner, within*, and we see that *πάρεστιν ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων*

ἰδεῖν is an appropriate and idiomatic description of Menelaus, as the Trojans might describe him in mockery of his rage and grief. Precisely as in the *Aias*, ἡδιστος describes the object of a malicious joy. Such words were never thrown casually together by a blundering pen. They were written either by the poet or by some learned and cunning editor, making poetry for Aeschylus after a conception of his own. I believe they were written by the poet. They represent the feelings which the *προφῆται δόμων*, speaking to the taste of their Trojan auditors, desired to express, sharply contrasted with the pathos, which they felt in their own despite. The words *σιγᾶς ἄτιμος ἀλοῖδος* (if they may mean 'unregarded, unscolded on the part of the silence', *i.e.* 'with none to answer his contemned invectives') are conceived in the same spirit<sup>1</sup>. and the ambiguity of ἰώ, expressing either triumph or grief, is also adapted to the purpose. See also the note on v. 431.

We might translate the whole then somewhat thus: *And oft they sighed, the interpreters of the home, as they said: 'Ah, for the home! Aha, for the home! Aha! and ah! for the princes thereof! for the husband's bed yet printed with her embrace! There he stands, his curses mocked with silence, the parted spouse, the sweetest sight of them all!'*

## L.

## v. 438. πένθεια.

If πένθεια is a word (and we are not entitled to assume that it was not, merely because we do not easily recognize its origin and meaning), it should be a feminine of the type of βασιλεια, ἱερεα etc. There is no reason why it should not be this, and from the context and other evidence we can fairly infer its meaning. We have a suitable stem in that of πενθ-ερός, connected according to the etymologists with the English *bind*, and signifying at all events the idea of *connexion* or *relationship*. The termination -εως (feminine -ειᾶ) is also proper to a word of this class, as in ἀγχιστεῦς (*a kinsman*), γονεῦς, etc. Thus formed, πένθεια (with a presumable ancient masculine πενθεύς) would mean *kinswoman*, strictly perhaps 'connexion by affinity', but likely to be so used as to include either kinship or connexion generally. Now this fits the context well. It is the *women* left behind, the mothers, wives, sisters, daughters of the absent men, who are most naturally taken as types of the anxiety at home; nor is there difficulty in the use

<sup>1</sup> To render ἀλοῖδος *unreproachful* is scarcely in accordance with the use of λοιδορία, λοιδορεῖν.



of the person for the class, 'the kinswoman' for 'the kinswomen'. And to this *πένθεια* the genitive *δόμων* 'kinswoman of the house' attaches itself naturally. I would therefore retain the text, with the interpretation, 'heavy in each house must be the hearts of the women-folk'. Another trace of this archaic group of words may be found in *Πενθείς*. Proper names in Greek (e.g. *Medon ruler*, *Mnestor wooer* etc.) are often words gone out of common use. It is not to be supposed that the name of *Pentheus* was given with consciousness of the evil significance found in it by fate (*ἐνδυστυχῆσαι τοῦνομ' ἐπιτήδειος* *ἐ* Eur. *Bacch.* 510): this intention would take all the point out of the coincidence. The name of 'kinsman' is happier and more likely.

For proposed corrections see Wecklein. None is satisfactory, and indeed if *πένθεια* be given up, there is no sufficient foundation.

## M.

v. 498 foll. κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὀρώ κατὰσκιον  
κλάδοις ἐλαίας· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις  
πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε,  
ὥς οὔτ' ἀναυδὸς οὔτε σοι δαίμων φλόγα  
ἕλης ὀρεῖας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός,  
ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λόγων κτλ.

On the difficulty of this passage and of current interpretations I have spoken above. The only remedy proposed by way of correction (see Wecklein) is to read in v. 501 *ὅς* (Stanley) or *ὁ δ'* (Keck) for *ὥς*. It is easy to see why this has not been found satisfactory. It makes sense of the second clause, 'who (or 'he') will give us the news better than by beacons', but only to raise another question—What then is *τάδε* in v. 500? What does the dust testify? But a wholly new suggestion has been made by Mr Housman (*Journal of Philology* xvi. 264), which deserves to be stated in full.

The coryphaeus catching sight of the herald sees also in the distance a cloud of dust which he supposes to be raised by the returning army; and the return of the army means something decisive, either victory or defeat. The crew of Agamemnon's ship, if Aeschylus followed Homer, would be 120 men; and these together with an ἀμαξήρης *θρόνος* for Agamemnon and Cassandra, would raise in clear dry southern air a cloud of dust to be seen a great way off. No doubt to us the allusion seems obscurely worded; but I fancy the Attic audience recognized an old friend. Of the plays of Aeschylus only a tithe has come down to us, but in that tithe we find *Σκῆρρ* 186 ὀρώ κόνον, ἀναυδὸν ἀγγελὸν στρατοῦ, and *Scpl.* 79 μεθεῖται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπῶν | ...αἰθερία κόνις με πέλθει φανεῖσ' | ἀναυδὸς σαφῆς ἔρυμος ἀγγελος. It may be guessed that by the time the



poet wrote this play—three years before his death—he had so familiarised his hearers with the conception of *κόνις* as an *ἄγγελος στρατοῦ* that he could dispense with an explicit reminder. The addition *κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος* is mere ornament, like the *αἶθλην πυρὸς κάσιον* of *Sept.* 481.

Now it will, I think, be admitted that this explanation, in referring the 'dust' to the approach of the king and his company, offers a conception intelligible and natural, if we can fairly find it in the words. The difficulties which Mr Housman leaves are those which he has himself perceived. First, although it is probable enough that the notion of 'dust' as 'announcing' the approach of a large body was familiar to the audience of Aeschylus<sup>1</sup>, we still feel the want here of some indication that the dust is actually seen in the distant landscape. Secondly, we are still without light upon *κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος* *διψία*. Mr Housman justifies this as mere ornament by the traditional reference to *Sept.* 481. But the parallel will not bear examination. To describe the red smoke which proceeds from the mouth of a fire-breathing monster as 'smoke akin to fire' is ornament indeed, and appropriate ornament. But is it equally appropriate, is it ornamental at all, to describe the dust-cloud raised by men marching as *thirsty dust, sister and neighbour to mire*? *Thirsty*, though not very suitable to dust in the air, might pass as a mere epithet of dryness, but *sister and neighbour to mire* gives just the suggestions which are not appropriate. Here then are the points to which we should direct our attention.

Considering so, it will occur to us that the obscurest point of all, so far, is the word *ξύνουρος*. I have used above the common rendering 'neighbour'. But *ξύνουρος* really means *conterminous, bordering upon, marching with*, and is applied to contiguous territories or other figures of space. Now if we should grant that dust, as such, whether on clothes or in the air or wheresoever, might be called *akin to mire*, as being a thing of the same class (?), yet why should these kinsmen be contiguous? The idea of 'dust contiguous to mud' is simple enough; the dust of a road, for example, is 'contiguous' to the mud of the ditch. but dust in the air is not contiguous to mud, nor is dust in general. In short, to have a satisfactory sense, the description *πηλοῦ ξύνουρος κόνις* must be not metaphorical at all, but local.

Now the speakers are looking out towards the sea over Argolis, a land so notorious for its dryness as to have been named from Homeric times *The Thirsty* (*πολυδίψιον Ἄργος*, cf. Ἄργους διψία χθών Eur. *Alc.* 563). The streams are scanty and in the summer fail entirely, so that

<sup>1</sup> Some confirmatory evidence as to this will be found in my edition of the *Septem*, Appendix II.

the Argives had a legend that Poseidon, defeated in a contest with Athena for the possession of the land, avenged himself by cutting off the water (Pausanias 2. 15. 5). For this reason in the *Suppliants* (784) the swarthy fugitives from Egypt, who have found refuge in Argolis, seeing that their pursuers are near, call upon the land to hide them, and wish that they might themselves be turned into dust and mix indistinguishably with the black clouds which are sweeping over the downs. In reference therefore to the plain of Argos the description *διψία κόνις* is not merely appropriate, but almost sufficient of itself in the circumstances to suggest the local use. But this dust is 'sister to the mire, contiguous to him'. Why so? Here is the more exact description of the plain of Argos: "The eastern side is much higher than the western, and the former suffers as much from a deficiency as the latter does from a superabundance of water. A recent traveller (Mure) says that the streams in the eastern part of the plain are all drunk up by the thirsty soil, on quitting their rocky beds for the deep arable land. . . The western part of the plain, on the contrary, is watered by a large number of streams, and at the south-western extremity near the sea there is besides a large number of copious springs, which make this part of the country a *marsh or morass* (the marsh of Lerna).....In the time of Aristotle this part of the plain was well-drained and fertile, but at the present day it is again covered with marshes' (Mure, abridged in Smith's *Dictionary of Geography* 1. p. 200). A glance at the map will show the situation, and see also the account in Pausanias (2. 36. 6—7) of the journey from Argos to Lerna. Now the mud or ooze of watery land, of the Egyptian Delta for instance, is called among other things *πηλός* (see L. and Sc. s. v.). From these facts and the evidence of the context here it is a reasonable conclusion that *the brother and sister whose lands lie side by side, the Dust and the Mire*, is simply an ancient and traditional description of *Argolis*, parched in its eastern part, drenched in its western. The speakers are looking eastwards towards the sea, across the waterless region, and it is therefore the Sister, the Dust, which tells them that a large body of men is approaching from the port. Even if the conception of dust announcing an army was not, as it is likely to have been, an Aeschylean commonplace, the local description is quite sufficient to show what is meant, especially if interpreted, as on the stage, by the gestures of the actors. On seeing the herald they naturally look out over the country to see what comes behind. The sight of the dust assures them that he is followed by a crowd, and that his news therefore must be important and is probably decisive. As we have seen in the Introduction, the

party with the king would be large, consisting not only of his own soldiers and companions, but of those who had gone to meet him and bring him as rapidly as possible to the fortress. This indication that they are now in sight is important to the plot. The critical situation created by the arrival of the herald could not possibly have been maintained for any great length of time.

See on the foregoing Prof. Campbell, *Class. Rev.* iv. 302

## N.

vv. 578—584. ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ  
 νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος, πῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει.  
 ὥς κομπάσαι τῷδε εἰκὸς ἡλίου φάει  
 ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις,  
 'Τροίην ἐλόντες δήποτ' Ἀργείων στόλος  
 θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα  
 δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαῖον γάνος'.

The difficulty in vv. 580—581 is well known, and perhaps cannot be solved with certainty on the present materials. The points to observe are these: (1) the *κόμπος* or *κόμπασμα* is to be made throughout future time, as is shown by the expressions *δήποτε* and *ἀρχαῖον*, which would only become applicable long after. To such a case as this the use of an anticipatory (proleptic) predicate does not fairly extend, as the *λάφυρα* did not become an *ἀρχαῖον γάνος* by being nailed to the temples. It is natural that, in making the most of the triumph, the man should speak of eternal, not of immediate, fame. This indicates that it is the sun, and not any human person, who is the agent and herald of the *κόμπασμα*, as the grammar itself also suggests: for (2) the order of the words in v. 580 favours decidedly the close connexion of τῷδε.. ἡλίου φάει with εἰκός.

Another construction is indeed possible: we may take τῷδε φάει with κομπάσαι, either as temporal or as object (*boast to the sun*, doubtful Greek but conceivable), and make ἡμῖν, supplied from v. 578, depend on εἰκός. So it appears to be taken by all who retain the text, e.g. Paley "The sense is 'the Argives, as they joyfully speed on their way, may boast of having fixed up Trojan arms' etc."

But those who reject this (Weil, Wecklein and others) are in my opinion so far right; for (1) the usual construction after εἰκός ἐστι is the accusative (not the dative) and infinitive, and in the accusative (ἡμᾶς) the pronoun, if the subject of κομπάσαι, would naturally be

thought; *ποτωμένους* therefore (Stanley) not *ποτωμένοις* would have been written, especially as the accusative would have been free from ambiguity, and (ii) to speak of an army or of messengers as '*flying* over land and sea', in the sense of 'moving rapidly', is not according to the habit of Greek metaphor. At least I can find nothing like it

Of the suggestions made on the assumption that the text is unsound, the most probable is that of Merkel, that after *v.* 580 a verse is lost by which *ποτωμένοις* was explained. Against all the mere corrections (such as *ποτωμένῳ* Heath, *τάδε...ποτώμενα* Weil) there is this general objection, that they do not account for the reading we find. If the text is not sound, though I believe it is, we had better suppose a lacuna

## O.

*v.* 655. ξυνώμοσαν γάρ, ὅντις ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρίν,  
πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πῖστ' ἐδειξάτην  
φθείροντε τὸν δούστηνον Ἀργείων στρατόν.

As to the primary meaning of these lines there is no difficulty. The only question to be raised is whether we are to look beyond this. It will be recognized as suitable to the genius of Greek tragedy that one who is unconsciously in imminent danger should unconsciously use expressions signifying his danger to the audience better informed. I believe that Aeschylus has here sought that effect. 'A conspiracy', says the man, 'was made between utter foes, *πῦρ* and *θάλασσα*, and for pledge of their league they destroyed the hapless army of Argos'. Now the speaker himself and the remnant that has returned are about to be ensnared, and some if not all of them to be slain, by 'a conspiracy' between two that had been utter foes', Clytaemnestra, that is, and Aegisthus, the hereditary enemy of Agamemnon's house. If then the parts of these two conspirators are properly symbolized by *πῦρ* and *θάλασσα*, the coincidence is not likely to be accidental

Of the *πῦρ* it is unnecessary to say more. More than half of this play is occupied with the part which, under the direction of Aegisthus, 'the fire' contributes to the plot by which Agamemnon fell. It remains then to ask whether *θάλασσα* is in like manner a symbol of the part contributed by Clytaemnestra.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Cho.* 976 ξυνώμοσαν μὲν θάνατον  
ἀθλίῳ πατρὶ | καὶ ξυνθανεῖσθαι· καὶ τὰδ'  
εὐδρόκως ἔχει, an allusion to details in the  
foregoing history which we have now no

means of tracing. See note there; the doubtful reading does not affect the present question.

Now if we read the strange and thrilling speech which the queen pronounces while her husband passes along the purple-strown pathway to his death (v. 949)

ἔστιν θάλασσα—τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει;—  
τρέφονσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἰσάργυρον  
κηκίδα παγκαίνιστον, εἰμάτων βαφάς...

and compare it with her description of the bloody bath-robe folded about his corpse (v. 1382)

πλουτον εἵματος κακόν,

and again with the description of the same as it is produced long after by Orestes (*Cho.* 1008)

μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι  
φᾶρος τόδ' ὥς ἔβαψεν Αἰγίσθον ξίφος.  
φόνου δὲ κηκίς ξὺν χρόνῳ ξυμβάλλεται  
πολλὰς βαφὰς φθείρονσα τοῦ ποικίλματος,

and again with the narrative of Orestes in the *Eumenides* (464)

ποικίλοις ἀγρεύμασι  
κρίψας, ᾧ λουτρῶν ἐξεμαρτύρει φόνον,

we shall feel that the 'sea (θάλασσα) full of welling crimson', of which in the lines first quoted the murderess is really thinking, is the bloody bath, in which the colours of the fatal robe would be blotted out in one tint more precious than them all. Is there then reason to believe that the term θάλασσα was so applied to a bath as to make the phrase πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα in the passage before us intelligible as an allusion to it? I think there is. There is evidence that for a *lustral* bath of ceremony, such as was that which Agamemnon took<sup>1</sup>, the term θάλασσα was technical. This supposition will explain a passage in Aristophanes, where the rites are described which are practised in curing the blind Plutus at the temple of Asclepius (*Plut.* 656),

πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἤγομεν,  
ἔπειτ' ἐλουμέν.

There is nothing in the circumstances there described to make it likely that the real sea was accessible, and the abrupt appearance of this θάλαττα in the description has caused perplexity. But the difficulty disappears if the water of purification as such was called θάλασσα. And this is probable enough in itself. That mysterious qualities of purification were attributed to sea-water is shown by the proverb

θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τᾶνθρώπων κακά (*Eur. Iph. T.* 1191).

<sup>1</sup> *Eum.* 636 δροίτην περῶντι λουτρά. Its journey and from war would properly was the bath which one coming from a take as preliminary to sacrifice.



Where the sea was accessible it was for lustral purposes preferred (Soph. *Al.* 654), and for the purpose of lustration salt water was artificially made (Theocr. 24. 96). From this belief to a ritual use of the term for the water of ceremonial lustration, whether actually drawn from the sea or not, is a natural process of language, and that this step was actually taken is indicated by the gloss of Hesychius *θαλασσωθεῖς ἀγνισάμενος*<sup>1</sup>.

We may conclude then that this 'conspiracy of fire and sea-water, utter enemies before' is a phrase intentionally ominous. It is manifest what an excellent opportunity for dramatic effect is given, when the man is made to speak in a manner so apt to startle the guilty consciences of those about him who are apprised of the deadly secret and at this moment are in the agony of suspense.

## P.

## v. 817. ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν.

"*About midnight*, at which time the lion goes to his prey and Troy was taken. The poet naturally marks the hour according to the time of the representation of the play, for in the second half of March, when the Great Dionysia were celebrated, the setting of the Pleiads occurs for observers in Greece between ten and eleven at night (Keck, *Neue Jahrb.* 1862, p. 518)". Wecklein.

I mention this explanation, because the traditional interpretation, which I accept, is in my view of the play not unimportant to the plot. But I do not think the alternative possible. The passages cited by previous commentators (see the note) indicate that *the setting of the Pleiads* had a fixed conventional significance, established before the time of Aeschylus and still familiar; it marked the season of the winter storms and the end of the season for sailing. And apart from this, how, without specification of the time of year, could the setting of a constellation be used to mark an hour of the day? Surely the audience could not be expected to bethink themselves, or indeed to know, at what hour the Pleiads set at the time of the Great Dionysia; and even if they could, would it not be strange to make a character on the stage, suddenly and without indication of the purpose, use language not

<sup>1</sup> My attention was directed to this gloss by Mr H. B. Smith, who also observes that in later Greek at least the

term *θάλασσα* was used also for certain religious vessels; see e.g. Sophocles *Lexicon* s.v. *θαλασσίδιον*.

intelligible except under the particular circumstances of the representation? What, we may ask, did the poet intend to be done when the speech should be recited at other times of the year?

Nor is it clear why Agamemnon should recall the fact that Troy was taken at midnight. He had only too good reason for remembering at this moment that it was taken just before the season of storms. The details of the capture have no connexion with this play and are never mentioned in it. It is possible indeed to detect in this passage an allusion to the 'wooden horse', but it is doubtful and at any rate not essential.

## Q.

vv. 887—894. λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα, ...  
 ὀδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος,—  
 τερπνὸν δὲ τὰναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν·  
 τοιοῦσδε τοίνυν ἀξιώ προσφθέγμασιν

If this passage has been rightly explained above, much of the difficulty of it has been made by the specious emendation of Schütz, τοί νιν for τοίνυν in v. 894. As I understand the words, τοίνυν is indispensable. The majority of recent texts have τοί νιν, with full stops at ῥέος and at ἅπαν. Weil however and others are justly dissatisfied, and for myself I scarcely think Mr Housman too trenchant when he says of this reading and punctuation "That Aeschylus did not put v. 893 where it now stands, severing v. 894 from the προσφθέγματα to which it refers, is evident to every one who understands, I do not say the art of poetry, but I say the art of writing respectable verse" (*Journal of Philology* xvi. p. 269). Nor is the matter much mended if we move v. 893 to some other place. If the catalogue is supposed to be properly ended at πηγαῖον ῥέος, there is no excuse for the addition of τοιοῦσδε τοί νιν ἀξιώ προσφθέγμασιν as a separate remark. The fact is that vv. 893—894 are feeble, irremediably feeble, both in themselves and in contrast to the noble lines which precede them, and if we are really to explain the passage, *we must accept this bathos for part of what we have to explain*. What the ms. gives us is certainly not successful eloquence; but was it meant to be?

To omit the two verses (one is not enough) is a simple method, but arbitrary. Mr Housman carries off vv. 890—893 (interchanged and slightly altered) to the end of the speech, and places them after v. 902.

## R.

vv. 922—933

It has been noticed in the Introduction that this altercation between Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra may have different effects according to the manner in which we suppose it to be delivered and acted. Does the king willingly change his purpose? The general opinion, which in such a matter has much weight, seems to be that he does, that he is pleased by the pomp which he pretends to dislike, and gladly submits to the pretended compulsion.

Undoubtedly the words admit this, and the scene might be so acted. But it should be pointed out that neither the words nor the circumstances require it. Whatever the king's wishes, he could not escape the scene prepared without a scandalous and ridiculous disturbance which the matter in itself was not worth. Mr Sidgwick (Introduction, p. xvii) speaks of 'the almost pathetic futility of his pious caution in taking off his shoes, when at last he agrees to tread the purple'. The futility is apparent; and the act seems to be that of a man who dislikes what he is doing but cannot help himself. Clytaemnestra's object in the whole demonstration is to exhibit the king to the gazers in an unpopular light, to make it appear that he has come back from Asia with his soldiers to assume (like some Pausanias) the state and manners of an Asiatic tyrant. He takes off his shoes by way of a counter-demonstration. But, as he remarks with vexation, he is still at a disadvantage (v. 937). Every one could see that his servants were prostrating themselves and spreading the pavement with carpets, while those at a distance could not appreciate or perceive his reluctance.

Our reading of the scene will depend on the view we take of the king's state of mind in relation to his wife. The impression which his language makes upon me is that he hates her, or rather is prepared to hate her, as cordially as she hates him, that he suspects her to be the chief thing *ὅτι δὲ φαρμῶν πωλυνίων*, and that if he had lived another day, she and her abettors would have assisted at a memorable demonstration of his 'kindly surgery'. If he does not fear her, that is because he is ignorant of all that makes her formidable.

There is another point in this scene which is worth notice, as illustrating the supposed relations between the pair. If the king has the slightest regard for his wife or attributes to her any affection for him, why does he insult her by his behaviour to Cassandra? Would

an Athenian audience have thought it decent in a returning husband to bring a *δορίκτητον* *λέχος* along with him in state to the door of his own house, and give to the mistress of it a public order to receive her kindly? Contrast the behaviour which Sophocles attributes in like circumstances even to the Heracles of the *Trachiniae* (225 foll.), the indignation of the spectators when his purpose is discovered, and the bitter feelings of Deianira herself. The language of the king respecting Cassandra, and the manner in which he puts her forward, has but one possible meaning; and if anything is required to perfect the outrage, it is the canting phrase with which it is accompanied. There is at any rate no doubt that this is the view of Clytaemnestra (see *v.* 1438 foll.).

## S

*vv.* 966—969. τίπτει μοι τόδ' ἐμπέδως  
 δείγμα προστατήριον  
 καρδίας τερασκόπου ποτᾶται,  
 μαντιπολεῖ δ' κτλ.

The question of the possibility of the reading *δείγμα*, as against *δείμα* the conjecture of Triclinius, depends upon our conception of the metaphor by which this passage holds together. The boding heart is a *τερασκόπος*, *i.e.* ἄ μάντις, a professional interpreter of signs, prodigies etc. What may be the relation to this figure of the words *δείγμα προστατήριον ποτᾶται*?

Firstly *προστατήριος*, a word of well-marked associations, signifies *standing before* or *set before a door or gate*, and applies usually to images of the gods there placed (as in this scene). Secondly, we observe that the speakers have not a definite anticipation but only a vague surmise of something wrong; or, to put the same thing in terms of the metaphor, the heart is not actually prophesying but only offering to prophesy. Thus, to satisfy the context, *δείγμα προστατήριον τερασκόπου* should be something *set before the door of a μάντις to advertise him as such*: and this something, it would seem, *ποτᾶται*, *i.e.* *hovers or flutters*.

It is a coincidence odd, if accidental, that in another place we find again the word *δείγμα* associated with similar expressions. In the *Acharnians* (989) Dicaeopolis has retired into his house to prepare a feast of the birds which he has bought from the Boeotian, and the Chorus outside perceive traces of the preparations in the feathers which are flung out before the door. This they describe in the odd phrase

τοῦ βίου δ' ἐξέβαλε δείγμα τάδε τὰ πτερὰ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. The words τοῦ βίου δείγμα, as an advertisement of his way of living, are not such as would first occur, but must be recommended by some familiar association. The two passages suggest, I think, that the professional μάντις used a δείγμα or sign before his door, and that this sign was a feather or feathers (πτερὰ), a rebus explaining itself by the fact that πτερὸν means an omen. (Aristophanes perhaps borrowed from this custom the notion of a dealer in πτερὰ (wings) which is used in the *Birds*, see v. 1330 σὺ δὲ τὰ πτερὰ πρῶτον διάθες τάδε κόσμῳ· τὰ τε μουσική' ὁμοῦ τὰ τε μαντικά καὶ τὰ θαλάττια κτλ.) If this were so, the meaning of Aeschylus would be simple, *Why doth my heart, prophet-like, still set in front this fluttering sign?*

At any rate here is reason for retaining δείγμα provisionally and on the chance of more certain information: δείμα, obvious as it is, does not well satisfy the other words, especially προστατήριον.

## T.

vv. 995—1000: καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων  
κτησίῳ, ὄκνος βαλῶν  
σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου,  
οὐκ ἔδω πρόπας δόμος  
παμονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,  
οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος.

"...Σφενδόνη, as the Lexicon will show, has many meanings, and this passage demands one more . . . The main idea of the word, as of the English *sling*, seems to be not *throwing* but *suspension*. Thus 'a sling for the arm', 'a suspending bandage', and the 'bezel', which contains the jewel of a ring, are called σφενδόνη. It is possible that some kind of instrument for suspending and weighing heavy goods was called a *sling*, and εὐμέτρος points to something like this. In that case ὄκνος βαλῶν would be not the terror which flings away a cargo in a storm, but the prudent apprehension which *rejects* and refuses to embark part of a load found to be too heavy for the boat, though it would always be more profitable to take more. This would not be open to the just objection of Mr Housman against the common view, that ὄκνος means properly not *terror* but *shrinking*, *hesitating*: ὄκνος would not suggest but prevent such prompt action as throwing away cargo in a storm. And we have then also a better explanation of ἀπό, *discharging*



from the scale. This would give the sense adopted in the translation" (ed. 1).

Since this was written, an almost exact parallel has been pointed out by Mr W. Wyse (*Class. Rev.* xiv. 5). "One of the inscriptions discovered by the French at Delphi proves that a σφενδόνη was part of an 'elevator' (*tolleno*) used in unloading vessels. The document was first published by Bourguet (*Bull. de Corr. Hell* 20, 1896, p. 197 sqq.) and is now to be found in Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, n. 591, Dittenberger, *S. I. G.* n. 140, Baunack, *Sammlung d. Griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, Bd II. Hft 6, n. 2502, p. 652". By this positive evidence (q.v.) the above guess is raised, I think, to a fair degree of certainty.

## U.

- v. 1076. αὐτοφόνα κακὰ κάρτα· ναί,  
ἀνδροσφαγεῖον κτλ.  
v. 1081. κλαιόμενα τὰ βρέφη σφαγὰς  
ὀπτάς τε σάρκας κτλ.

M 1076 καρτάναι, 1081 τάδε.

In spite of the scholium ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγχόνη, which assumes that καρτάναι stands for καὶ ἀρτάνη, they are right who hold that the word ἀρτάνη did not here occur. Hanging was to the Greeks a type of suicide (v. 866), and with neither hanging nor suicide have we anything to do. Most of the bolder suggestions, e.g. καράτομα (Kayser), proceed on the assumption that the metre of v. 1076 should be corrected to that of v. 1081. But the error is rather in v. 1081.

In v. 1076 Cassandra, as the elders observe, is 'tracking the scent' of the Thyestean crime, coming nearer to it with each word: *Nay, it is an accursed house, full of guilty secrets, yea, of murders unnatural, aye verily, a place where human victims bleed, where babes besprinkle the altar.* The asseverations μὲν οὖν, κάρτα, and ναί mark the growing clearness and certainty, till it rises (v. 1080) to actual vision. The word κάρτα, here qualifying αὐτοφόνα, is a favourite with the poet.

In v. 1081 on the other hand we should adopt for τάδε the archaic demonstrative τὰ, in which reading the later mss. (*Florentinus*, *Venetus*, *Farnesianus*) agree. It would almost seem as if they must have been guided by some note or tradition, independent of M, which has now disappeared. At any rate it is likely enough that τάδε, a correct explanation of τὰ, should have come wrongly into the text of M, as τὸδε (a not very correct explanation) has for τὸ in v. 175.

## V.

vv. 1167—1171. ἡὖ πρόπυργοι θυσίαι πατρὸς  
 πολυκανεῖς βοτῶν ποιονόμων· ἄκος δ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεισαν  
 τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχειν παθεῖν,  
 ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδῳ βαλῶ.

The question presented by this last line does not perhaps admit a complete answer. But I would call attention to a consideration overlooked. It is commonly assumed that ἐμπέδῳ is wrong. But it is, I submit, certain that ἐμπέδῳ is right. Let us consider what the context requires: ἐγὼ δὲ κτλ. answers to πόλιν μὲν κτλ., the second part of a dependent antithesis being turned, as often in poetry (e.g. v. 1287), into an independent sentence; 'Alas! how many a victim from his rich herds did my father sacrifice on behalf of his town! Yet they availed not at all to save the city from receiving such fate as it hath, while I' etc. In spite of Priam's offerings, he and his are utterly destroyed, all but Cassandra, and she will soon be added to the rest. Such is the connexion of thought.

Now we must not suppose that by error the ms. could offer exactly what is wanted to round off the period effectively, that is to say, an antithesis bringing together Cassandra and Priam. That θερμόνους *hot-brained, rash-witted* is in itself a good word is not disputed, nor that it fitly applies to Cassandra, as she was regarded by her incredulous countrymen. But ἔμπεδος (τὸν νοῦν) *solid or sound (of judgment)* is not only a good antithesis to θερμόνους, but is applied in Homer as a characteristic description to Priam, e.g. Il. 20. 183 εἰσὶν γάρ οἱ (Πριάμῳ) παῖδες, ὃ δ' ἔμπεδος οὐδ' ἀεσίφρων. The contrast of the epithets here (ἐγὼ θερμόνους, ἐμπέδῳ αὐτῷ), when the prophecies of the 'sick-brained' Cassandra have been realized in the ruin of her 'wise' father and all his kin, is surely not accidental. Whoever wrote ἐμπέδῳ meant to oppose it, as the Homeric epithet of Priam, to θερμόνους. Neither is it in the manner of ancient editors, so far as we know them. Indeed an editor capable of it must have known more about Aeschylus than is known now, and have had better material for his text.

From this antithesis then we should start, whether for interpretation or correction. Nor is there room for much variation of meaning: ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχα πρὸς ἔμπεδον αὐτὸν ἐρρήσω—something like this is what we should look for. But again, in the verb at least this is what we have; for that the intransitive βάλλειν *to fall, to go* was used for

ἔρρειν appears in the popular phrases βάλλ' ἐς μακαρίαν, βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας etc.: nor are we in a position to say that the popular use might not find a parallel in poetry.

The question then narrows itself to this, whether the case of ἐμπέδω could be constructed with βαλῶ in the sense required. An ordinary locative dative would offer no difficulty. In the older grammar of poetry βάλλειν (in the sense of *going to*) would naturally take that case, on the analogy of πεδίῳ πέσε, οὐδὲι ἐρείσθῃ, θαλάσῃ ἔλσαι Ἀχαιοὺς etc. (Kühner, *Gr. Gramm.* § 423. 4; Monro, *Homeric Grammar* § 145. 4) and of the transitive βάλλω (Eur. *Med.* 1285 etc.). The extant 'locative datives of persons' (Monro, *H. G.* § 145. 4) do not offer a parallel, and we should not expect it. But there is perhaps reason here for a construction not exactly proper to a personal object. The ruined city, the slaughtered Trojans, and the dead king, who is the type of the whole, are not here truly conceived as personal. They are, if we may mark the latent metaphor more precisely, the heap on which the survivor will soon be flung. In these circumstances a locative case is not to be hastily condemned. If there is error, it should be in βαλῶ.

The elision of τάχα is noticeable, being generally confined in Aeschylus to set phrases such as τάχ' ἄν, τάχ' εἶσομαι (see on v. 898), but it is not a ground for objection.

## W.

v. 1210. XO. πῶς δῆτ' ἄνακτος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότῳ;

KA. ἔπειθον οὐδέν' οὐδέν' ὥς τὰδ' ἤμπλακον.

All texts here adopt some conjectural reading, for the most part one of these two:

πῶς δῆτ' ἄνακτος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότον; Wieseler:

πῶς δῆτ' ἄνατος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότῳ; Canter:

both assuming the sense to be *How then did Apollo punish thee?* From the first, though ἄνακτος is weak and the use of ἦσθα (*didst thou feel*) doubtful, the sense sought can perhaps be obtained. The second, though largely supported, seems impossible. The words could only mean *How then didst thou escape the anger of Loxias?* to which the answer does not correspond<sup>1</sup>, nor can the Elders, who know the story by

<sup>1</sup> On the alleged parallel in *Cho.* 539 see note there.

rumour (v. 1083) and are drawing it out by leading questions, possibly assume that Cassandra did escape.

But further there is error in the assumption, common to both suggestions, as to the sense required. There is nothing in the foregoing narrative to prompt the question *How then did Apollo punish thee?* The god might have taken vengeance in a hundred ways. From the emphasis laid upon ἦδη in vv. 1208 and 1209 the point appears to be this. Before Cassandra proved false, Apollo had *already* conferred the prophetic gift. Now it was the established rule that "the gods themselves cannot recall their gifts". How then, asks the enquirer, could he undo what had been done? Cassandra answers that he did so, and shows how. He left the prophetic gift (which he might not take away) but yet effectually annulled it by causing her never to be believed.

From this point of view we shall see that there is in v. 1210 no error at all, or at most an error of accentuation. Ἀνακτος is not the genitive of ἀναξ but the verbal adjective from ἀνάγειν, represented in Latin by *revocabilis*<sup>1</sup>. That which is οὐκ ἀνακτόν τι, *alicui non revocabile*, is that which *he cannot bring back* or which, as we should say, 'has escaped beyond his recall'. Cassandra, having received the stipulated reward upon a mere promise and before performance, might have seemed to be *beyond the recall of Loxias' wrath*; and the question asked is, how then the angry god could bring her back. The use of the word was probably suggested by the legal associations of ἀνάγειν and ἀναγωγή as applied to the process for the recovery of what was paid by mistake or fraud.

In vv. 1205—1208 there is dispute as to the meaning of παλαιστής, νόμῳ, and ἡρημένη, upon which I shall only say that I believe the text to be sound.

## X.

vv. 1227—1229. οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλώσσα μισητῆς κυνός,  
λέξασα κάκτεϊνασα φαιδρόνους δίκην  
ἄτης λαθραίου, τεύξεται κακῇ τύχῃ.

The explanation which I take from Mr Macnaghten and Prof. Bury (partly anticipated many years ago by Mr E. S. Thompson) is open to one objection. There is undoubtedly great boldness of metaphor in saying that 'a tongue reaches forth a cast'. But there is no mixture of metaphors, for there is only one metaphor: γλώσσα is not meta-

<sup>1</sup> On the question of accentuation see ἔπακτος or ἐπακτός.

phorical; neither is *κυνός*, being simply an opprobrious term for the adulteress. Except in *ἐκτεínaσα δίκην* (secondary sense) there is no metaphor, and to this metaphor *τεύζεται* is adapted. The words *γλώσσα* and *δίκην* are far from each other, and the transition is smoothed by the intermediate steps *λείξασα* and *ἐκτεínaσα*. The real subject being *Clytaemnestra*, *γλώσσα* easily drops out of view. Also the allusive force of *ἐκτεínaσα* and of *δίκην* would palliate what otherwise might not please. When a writer wishes to make verbal points of this kind (and Aeschylus loved them), he often does some violence to his language. The transition supposed is different in kind from the unthinkable imagery of *γλώσσα κυνός λείξασα κάκτεínaσα φαιδρὸν οὖς* (Ahrens and Madvig) 'a tongue licking and pointing a joyful ear'.

It is no objection to Prof. Bury's view that we have no other specimen of *δίκη* (or *δική*) = *βόλος*. *Δίκη* necessarily meant *cast* in Greek, as long as the verb *δικεῖν* existed and was known, and might have been used in that sense, for such a purpose as the present, even if no one had done so before or did so afterwards.

The reading adopted by Dr Wecklein is

οὐκ οἶδεν οἷαν γλώσσα μισητή, κυνός  
λείξασα κάκτεínaσα φαιδρὸν οὖς δίκην,  
ἄτην λαθραῖον κτλ.

The suggestion to separate *κυνός* from the preceding words and to write *μισητή* is attributed to Kirchhoff. I mention this as being the only version adopting the readings *λείξασα* (Tyrwhitt) and *φαιδρὸν οὖς* (Ahrens, Madvig), which appears tolerable. But it does not really avoid the fatal phrase *γλώσσα...ἐκτεínaσα οὖς*: and moreover the positions of the words *κυνός...δίκην* make it difficult to suppose that they mean *like a dog*.

## Y.

v 1266. ἴτ' ἐς φθόρον, πεσόντα θ' ᾧδ' ἀμείβομαι. (?)

With diffidence I repeat here the conjecture offered in the Appendix to my edition of the *Medea* (and adopted by Mr Sidgwick) ΠΕCON-ΤΑΘΩΔ for ΠΕCONΤΑΓΑΘΩΔ, literally 'and now ye are down, thus I requite you', to be explained by the action of trampling upon them, whence ἄλλην ἄτην in the next verse. It has the advantage of accounting perfectly by repetition of letters (TATA whence ΤΑΓΑ), for the corruption: see a parallel in v. 222 ΤΕΓΕ for γε. I retain however ἀμείβομαι, the *original* reading of f, not the future ἀμείψομαι, easily



explained as an alteration to suit διαφθερῶ. Hermann's ἐγὼ δ' ἄμ' ἔφομαι is followed by Dindorf, Wecklein and others. But v. 1267 points to retaining the verb δμείβεσθαι.

See however Munro (*J. Ph.* xi. p. 139) and Mr R. A. Nicholson (*Class. Rev.* xiii. 272). Mr Nicholson objects that πεσόντα is weak, and suggests κάτω γὰρ ὦδ' δμείβομαι *I pass to the world below thus (without adornment)*. I still think my conjecture possible and even probable, but prefer not to place it in the text.

## Z.

vv. 1276—1277. βωμοῦ πατρόςου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει  
θερμῷ κοπίστῃ φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.

These verses have been interpreted as if θερμῷ φοινίῳ προσφάγματι were an instrumental dative, *with hot and bloody sacrifice*. For πρόσφαγμα is cited Eur. *Tro* 624, where προσφάγματα is used of Polyxena slain at the tomb of Achilles, Eur. *Heu.* 41 (of Polyxena), id. *Hel.* 1255, id. *Alc.* 845. The meaning of προ- in the compound, as in other compounds, probably varied. In general it meant *on behalf of* (προ- = ὑπέρ); thus while the living chiefs received their allotted captives, Polyxena was slain *on behalf of* the dead Achilles. So in Eur. *Iph. T.* 458, the victims of Artemis are πρόσφαγμα θεᾶς slain *for the goddess*, where the object of the preposition is expressed. But Eur. *Hel.* 1255, προσφάζεται μὲν αἷμα πρῶτα νεπτέροις, shows that προ- easily lent itself to the temporal sense, 'the blood shed first', the 'opening sacrifice', and that is perhaps rather the meaning here. At the same time the meaning 'a sacrifice for the dead' is not inappropriate, since Agamemnon and his paramour are 'wedded in death' according to the grim conception of Clytaemnestra (v. 1447) and each therefore slain *for the other*.

But θερμῷ should be a predicate and equivalent to θερμῷ ὄντι. In Aeschylus, where two adjectives are used, one is usually a predicate (see on *Theb.* 850), and here the separate and emphatic position of θερμῷ marks it as such.

The construction of the dative is that which with strictly personal subjects is found even in the older prose, and might be called a dative 'absolute' with as much or as little propriety as the corresponding genitive (Gildersleeve, *Pindar Ol. and Pyth.*, Preface p. xciii). The genitive 'absolute' indicates that the act or condition described by it stands in a relation to the main act conceived as resembling that of the

origin or 'point from which', or some other relation expressed by this case. Where the relation to be described resembles rather that of the dative, the older language uses that case also with freedom. Most common are datives 'absolute' modelled on the personal dative 'of interest' e.g. Herod. 6. 21 ποιήσαντι Φρυγίῃ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν ἐς δάκρυα ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον, Thuc. 4. 120 ἀποστᾶσι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Βρασιδᾶς διέπλευσε but there are also datives 'absolute' resembling the instrumental, as Theocr. 13 29 Ἑλλάσποντον ἴκοντο νότῳ τρίτον ἄμυρ ἀέντι, and others again where, as with the genitive, special relation disappears in the general relation of *circumstance*, Xen. *Ages* 1. 2 τοῖς προγόνις ὀνομαζομένοις, ἀπομνημονεύεται ὁποστὸς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐγένετο, Pind. *Ol.* 2. 76 λείφθη Θέρσανδρος ἐριπέντι Πολυνείκει etc. (See for a large collection of examples Kuhner, *Gr. Gramm.* § 423, 25, *f*, and also note on *Theb.* 217.) The use is very seldom found in the fully developed prose style, having been driven out partly by the genitive, partly by the more precise though more cumbrous use of prepositions or of dependent clauses with conjunctions. So in *Eum.* 592 οὐ κειμένῳ πῶ τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον the dative represents what a prose-writer would more accurately have expressed by ἐπί, or, if he had used a simple case at all, by the genitive κειμένου. See also *Ag* 1298, and note there. Here the relation of the dative, so far as it is specialized, is partly that of 'interest', extended to a subject not strictly personal, partly that of mere succession *to*, as in *v.* 1171, 1338 and *Soph. O. T.* 175 ἄλλον δ' ἂν ἄλλῳ (*one after another*) προσίδοις ὄρμενον, where see Prof. Jebb's note. Either way the meaning is that the slain Agamemnon will immediately *receive* another victim in Cassandra.

The use of this dative 'absolute' is particularly natural here (and for a similar reason in *Theb.* 217) where the genitive case is appropriated, so to speak, by κοπείσης. As to this genitive itself, which is sometimes suspected, it would seem that no other case could be used: κοπεῖσαν with μένει would hardly be correct, a present or future participle would be required. But κοπείσης as explained in the note is really general and therefore properly in the aorist.

## APPENDIX II.

### *On the correspondence of Strophe and Antistrophe.*

On this subject, which is happily not very important to the play before us, I shall be as brief as possible, referring the reader to my edition of the *Seven against Thebes*, Appendix I., the conclusions of which I shall here assume. "Upon the whole review, we see that three types of variation from strict syllabic correspondence are common in the *Seven against Thebes*—for we are not justified in assuming that an equal strictness must be found in all the works even of the same poet—(1) a 'syncopated' foot answering to a complete foot<sup>1</sup>; (2) the trochaic or 'cyclic' dactyl answering to a trochee proper; (3) a long syllable in 'thesis' answering to a short syllable". I have reason to believe that the evidence offered for this has been found satisfactory, and as to (1), the only part of the statement likely to cause surprise, I may now cite the express agreement of Dr Fennell<sup>2</sup>.

The case of the *Agamemnon* is different. The tradition presents indeed not a few departures from syllabic correspondence. They are of exactly the same kind as those which are common in the *Septem* and, taken in connexion with them, are not open to reasonable suspicion. But they are exceptional, and in general this play exhibits a much nearer approach than the *Septem* to the stricter treatment which seems to have been approved by Sophocles. This fact, we may observe, so far from diminishing the strength of the evidence for these variations, increases it very greatly. If Aeschylus had always used the stricter system, and if the departures from it in the MS text were the result of erroneous copying, we should expect to find them on the average

<sup>1</sup> — — —, in musical notation ♩ . = ♩ ♩ .

<sup>2</sup> *The Parodos of Aeschylus' Septem etc.* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1889.

equally prevalent in different plays. And the contrary fact points to the contrary inference.

I will now simply enumerate in classes the variations which may be called regular, and add a few words on some cases of more peculiarity or difficulty.

§ I. --- ∪ (♩. = ♩ ♩).

{205. να | ων- | και- | πεισμα | των  
{218. τεκ | νον δα | ιξ- | ω δομ | ων

The vertical lines mark the divisions of the feet. The mark - indicates the 'holding' of the preceding note.

{380. παρ | εστι | τουτ- | εξιχ | νευσαι

{397. προ | βουλο | παις α | φερτος | ατας

{384. πατ | οιθ ο δ | ουκ- | ευσεβ | ης

{401. τριβ | ω- | και- | προσβο | λαις-

{387. πνε | ον- | των- | μειζον | η δικ | αιως

{404. δι | ω- | κει- | παις- | πτανον | ορνιν

{388. φλε | ον- | των- | δωμα | των υ | περ- | φευ-

{405. πολ | ει- | προς- | τριμμ α | φερ- | τον- | θεις-<sup>1</sup>

{390. μαντον | ωστ απ | αρκ- | ειν- | ευ πραπι | δων λα | χοντα

{407. τον δ ε | πιστρο | φον- | τωνδε | φωτ αδικ | ον καθ | αφει

{414. κλον | ους- | λογχιμ | ους τε | και- | ναυβατ | ας οπ | λιςμους

{430. παρ | εισι | δοξ- | αι φερ | ους- | αι χαρ | ιν ματ | αιαν

{449. ψηγμα | δυσδακ | ρυτον | αν- |

{τηνορ | ος σποδ | ου γε | μι- |

{467. των πολ | υκτον | ων γαρ | ουκ α |

{ποσκοπ | οι θε | οι κελ | αι- |

{699. κελσαν | των Συμο | εντος | ακτ- | ας επ | αξι | φυλλους

{715. παμπροσθ | η πολυ | θρηνον | αι- | ων- | αμφι πολ | ιταν.

{1482. η μεγαν | οικois | τοισδε | δαμονα | και βαρυ

{1506. ως μεν αν | αιτοις | ει- | τουδε φον | ου τις ο

Some of these variations may, as we should expect, be reduced to syllabic regularity by such expedients as the insertion of τε or γε<sup>2</sup>. But others cannot. No objection, except that grounded on metre,

<sup>1</sup> But see note *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Not that these insertions are justified by the usage of the poet. Both in

205 and in 401 the inserted τε is otiose and undesirable.

lies against οἴκοις τοῖσδε in *v.* 1482. In *v.* 414 the supposed metrical difficulty has led to criticisms and proposals, which without it would not have been entertained. In the order of the words ἀσπίστορας κλόνους λογχίμους τε (*i.e.* κλόνους ἀσπίστορας λογχίμους τε *dim of shield and spear*) there is nothing irregular: τε follows according to rule the word (λογχίμους) which it serves to couple on: and where adjectives are thus coupled by τε, some other word frequently stands between them, *e.g.* in *Eur. Hec.* 267 αἰχμάλωτον χρή τιν' ἔκκριτον θανεῖν κάλλει θ' ὑπερφέρουσιν (*i.e.* ἔκκριτον. κάλλει θ' ὑπερφέρουσιν). On the other hand the double change proposed for the sake of syllabic resposion (ἀσπίστορας κλόνους τε καὶ λογχίμους ναυβάτας θ' ὀπλισμούς) makes an arrangement not only irregular but obscure. The first τε, however it be taken, is both useless and misplaced<sup>1</sup>.

§ 2. — = ∪ in the unaccented part of the foot.

This (the 'unnatural' long syllable of H. Schmidt's terminology) is found in almost all poets and in every kind of metre. It occurs in the *strophæ* of the *Agamemnon* with moderate frequency.

{	192.	χαρ		ις βι		αιως		σελμα	
	200.	εχ		ων παλ		ιρρο		θοις εν	
{	207.	τριβ		ω κατ		εξ —		αινον	ανθος   Αργει   ωπ.
	220.	ρεεθ		ροις πατ		ρω —		ους χερ	ας βω   μου πελ   ας.

Here, as is not uncommonly the case, the feet interchange. All the feet are equal, most of them true trochees, the second in each set (not counting the anacrusis) a 'syncopated' trochee, while the trochaic — — appears in the fifth foot of the first set, and in the fourth foot of the second. So also in the first feet of *vv.* 392, 3, 4 compared with *vv.* 409, 10, 11 and in the last foot of *v.* 393 compared with that of *v.* 410. So in *vv.* 426, 27, 28. So in *v.* 1105 γένει by 1119 τεύχει: see *Soph. O. C.* 1557 and 1568. So in the first syllable (anacrusis) of *v.* 1162 νεογνός compared with *v.* 1173 καὶ τίς σε.

One or two more cases are doubtful. In *v.* 1469 the correction ἰμπίννεις is probable, in *v.* 1512 προβαίνων is not improbable. In *v.* 462 Orelli's conjecture ἔχοντας would give an instance, but the *ms.* ἔχοντας is better.

<sup>1</sup> According to the *ms.* there would be a 'syncopated' foot in *v.* 441 ουσ — | μεν γαρ ε | πεμψεν: but see note there.



§ 3.  $- \cup \cup = - \cup$  ( $\text{J} \text{J} = \text{J} \cdot \text{J}$ ).

This, which in the *Septem* is scarcely less frequent than (1) and (2), is in the *Agamemnon* rare. Two examples are close together.

{	718.	ε		θρεψ —		εν δε λε		οντος		ι —	
				νιν δομ		οις αγα		λακτον		οι —	
				τας αν		ηρ φιλο		μαστον			
				εν βιο		του προτε		λειοις etc.			
{	728.	χρο		νισ —		θεις δ' απε		δειξεν		η —	
				θος το		προς τοκε		ων χαρ		ιν —	
				γαρ τροφ		ας α		μειβων			
				μηλαφον		οισιν		αταις etc.			

Both the last lines have been variously emended, but the suggested changes in *v.* 730 (e.g. τροφᾶς ἀπαμείβων) are doubtful and those in *v.* 731 (see note there) more so. The mere fact that the same peculiarity occurs in two successive lines is a reason for thinking that there is no error. Such variations are naturally often grouped together. See also *v.* 715, as given in § 1 above. In *v.* 412 we should perhaps retain κλοπαῖς, and in *v.* 458 προδίκουσιν.

§ 4.  $- = \cup \cup$  ( $\text{J} = \text{J} \text{J}$ ).

This, the 'resolution of a long syllable', is not unfrequent.

(?)	{	394.	λακτις		αντι μεγ		αλα δικ		ας —	
		411.	ησχυ		νε ξενι		αν τραπ		ελ —	
{	417.	α	τλητα		τλασα		πολυ δ αν		εστε	
	433.	βε	βακεν		οψις		ου μεθ		υστερ	
									ον —	
	{	1090.	εκας α		ποστατ		ει —			
		1098.	χερος ο		ρεγομεν		α —			

See also *vv.* 422, 1110, 1162, 1454, and 1482. Some of these can be removed by plausible changes, some not without violence.

I have reserved for separate consideration one or two places of special character or special importance.

{	421.	παρ		εστι		σιγ —		ας α		τιμος α		λοιδορ		ος —	
		α		διστος		αφεμεν		ων ιδ		ειν —					
{	437.	το		παν δ αφ		Ελλαδος		αι —		ας ξην		ορμεν		οις —	
		πεν		θει α		τλησι		καρδι		ος —					

It will be seen that there is here no variation other than those

which have been illustrated above, except the lengthening of the last syllable of *ἀλοῖδος* by the ictus of the verse and by the rhythmical or musical break between 'line' and 'line'. This is found again at v. 436

τωνδ' υπ | ερβατ | ω τερ | ᾄ - |

and is in fact too familiar to require further notice<sup>1</sup>. In 422 = 438 there is one variation, in 421 = 437 there are two, all of common types. And I would ask the reader to notice, as a testimony in favour of the MS. text, the balance of vv. 421 and 437. The metre of both verses is trochaic. Each verse exhibits two variations or quasi-trochees, *and the same two* (see above, §§ 1 and 3), *differently disposed in the verse*, so that the total quantity, so to speak, of each verse is exactly the same. That this balance has been produced by blundering I cannot believe, and I therefore hold both verses correct<sup>2</sup>.

A more doubtful problem is presented by the following :

- |   |                                 |  |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| { | 990.                            | μάλα γάρ τοι τᾷς πολλᾷς ἡγείας         |
|   |                                 | ἀκόρεστον τέρμα· νόσος γὰρ             |
|   |                                 | γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρεΐδει.              |
|   | 1004.                           | τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν πεισόνθ' ἔπαζ' θανάσιμον |
|   | πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἵμα τίς ἄν |  |
|   | πάλιν ἀγκαλίσσεται' ἐπαίδων;    |  |

Here there is undoubtedly some error, since v. 1004 has no construction. The correction commonly received (*πεισόν* Auratus) is facile but far from certain. It is perhaps as likely that *ἐπὶ γᾶν*, which could well be spared, covers some neuter adjective or participle to which *πεισόν τε* was attached. The rhythm of 990, compared with 1004, is or appears to be exceptional and unsatisfactory. It is not probable that the correspondence here was strictly syllabic, but no positive conclusion is to be reached. I will note merely that the parts which can be construed as they stand can also be sung as they stand,

991.	ακορ		εστον		τερμα νοσ		ος -		γαρ γει		των ομο	
											τοιχος ερ	
												ειδει
1005.	προπαρ		ανδ -		ρος μελαν		αμα τις		αν παλιν		αγκαλεις	
											αιτ επα	
												ειδων,

<sup>1</sup> The principle extends to the case of v. 1410 *ἀπέθηκες, ἀπέταμης' | ἀπόπολις δ' ἔσει*, where to produce the appearance of regularity we ought to print *ἀπόπολις κτλ.* in a separate line. But the arrangement of lines, which is purely arbitrary, does not really affect the question. The break of music and rhythm, correspond-

ing to the pause in the sense, is there, however we mark it, and is allowed to protect the final syllable of *ἀπέταμης* from abbreviation.

<sup>2</sup> The remarks on vv. 743, 754, which here follow in ed. 1, have been cancelled in deference to the objections of Dr Headlam and others.

and that they exhibit the same kind of balance which has been noticed in *vv.* 421 and 437.

In *vv.* 249 and 1132 we have metrical irregularities which, though at first sight widely dissimilar, may perhaps be referred to the same principle. In *v.* 249 there is apparently a strange hiatus

κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα<sup>1</sup>  
ἔβαλλε κτλ.

and in *v.* 1132 a hypermetric syllable, πάθος ἐπεγχείασα answering to πτεροφόρον δέμας. In neither place does the sense give any hint of error<sup>2</sup>. In the first, the solution is, I believe, that the short vowel actually is elided as usual, the scansion being this:

κροκ | ου βαφ | ας δ- | ες πεδ | ον χε | ουσ- | ε | βαλλ etc.

♩ | ♩. ♩ | ♩ | ♩. ♩ | ♩. ♩ | ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩.

answering to

260

τεχ | ναι δε | Καλ- | χαντος | ουκ α | κραντοι | δικ | α etc.

♩ | ♩. ♩ | ♩ | ♩. ♩ | ♩. ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩.

If so, the case really falls under § 1 (see above), and it may throw some light upon *v.* 1132. In principle there is nothing surprising in the occurrence of such a 'hypermetric' syllable as we find in πάθος ἐπεγχείασα. If it were common, every one would regard it as natural, and the wonder is that it is not. The final trochee of πάθος ἐπεγχείασα answers to the final long syllable of πτεροφόρον δέμας, or to put the same thing otherwise, the musical bar is completed by a note in the first and by a rest in the second. When the Romans first began to imitate Greek metres, they abounded in such 'hypermetric' lines, as well as in lines with a superfluous 'anacrusis'<sup>3</sup>, and the same thing is true *mutatis mutandis* of many modern metres. It is not likely *prima facie* that the most severe treatment would avoid an occasional lapse (if such it be) of this kind.

Lastly in those parts of the play which are written in *dochmiu*<sup>4</sup>, or

<sup>1</sup> Note that a hiatus of this kind has no resemblance to those cases where at the end of the line a short syllable taking the stress of the rhythm is treated as long. This is quite common, while the examples of the other are rare and unsatisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> 249 βαφὰς . . . χέουσα Keck, χέουσα' ὦδ' Hermann, χέουσα' ἄδ' Kennedy, βαλοῦσα' ἔκαστον Karsten, βάλλ' ὦν ἑκαστον

Ahrens.—1132 θροεῖς . . . ἐπεγχείας Franz, and see *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> As to the superfluous 'anacrusis' see on *S. c. Th v.* 723, Appendix I. p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> An interesting discussion of the *dochmius* will be found in the paper of Dr Fennell already cited, pp. 6 foll. With most of what he says I entirely agree.

in metre for practical purposes not distinguishable from the dochmiac, there are a few noticeable variations. In *v.* 1408 ἐξ ἄλλος ὁρώμενον (MS. δρώμενον) may be correct, though exact correspondence is restored by ὄρμενον. In *v.* 1164 (if κακά, as seems probable, be omitted) we have μινυρά θρεομένας answering to γοερά θανατοφόρα. The first is a not uncommon variety of *dochmius*, in which the first and second 'long' syllables are 'resolved'. The second would be an iambic trimeter with 'resolved' syllables (γοερα | θανατο | φορα): on the iambic trimeter as a variation in this metre see on the *Septem* 206, 219 etc. (Appendix I. p 133 in my edition). The same variation is exhibited by M in *Ag.* 1143 ἀηδόνας μόρον, answering to *v.* 1130 κακόποτμοι πύχαι: it is not certain therefore, though probable, that Hermann was right in changing the order to μόρον ἀηδόνας.

A small question, partly metrical partly linguistic, is presented by the word ἀκόρεστος (*vv.* 1105, 1138), where it is usual to substitute the (assumed) equivalent form ἀκόρετος. But the metrical evidence is dubious, and perhaps the form. In *v.* 1105 there is already exact responsion, if the second syllable of ἐνύδρῳ (*v.* 1119) be scanned as long. In *v.* 1138, the scansion intended, since in the *dochmi* of this scene the metre is generally continuous, may be ξουθὰ 'κόρεστος: that 'κόρεσ-τος might answer to μελοτυπεῖς all would admit.

### APPENDIX III.

*On the Parts of the Conspirator (v. 1522) and the Soldier (v. 1650)*<sup>1</sup>.

It happens that we have from Pollux a note on the *dramatis personae* of the *Agamemnon*, which, though it deals directly only with a detail, presupposes and necessarily implies a certain view of the whole play. The passage runs as follows (Poll. iv. 109): ὁπότε μὴν ἀντὶ τετάρτου ὑποκριτοῦ δέοι τινὰ τῶν χορευτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧδῃ, παρασκήνιον καλεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι Αἰσχύλου· εἰ δὲ τέταρτος ὑποκριτὴς τι παραφθέγγαιτο, τοῦτο παραχορήγημα ὀνομάζεται, καὶ πεπρᾶχθαί φασιν αὐτὸ ἐν Μέμνονι Αἰσχύλου. 'But where, in place of a fourth actor, one of the chorus-performers was required to speak in lyric, this is called a *παρασκήνιον*: see for example the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. If there was something *extra* spoken by a fourth actor, this is termed a *παραχορήγημα*: it is said to have occurred in the *Memnon* of Aeschylus'.

The meaning of this is clear and undisputed. For the performance of a play there were commonly provided, in addition to the regular chorus, three actors trained for spoken parts; and as a general rule this number was the limit, and the plays were so written that not more than three persons (besides the *choreutae*), having parts to speak, should be before the audience at the same time. Pollux is here treating of the rare exceptions to this rule. He divides them into two kinds. The ordinary function of the three ὑποκριταί was to deliver the dialogue. The most natural conception therefore of a 'fourth actor' would be a person speaking in ordinary dialogue (ἐν λόγῳ) in a scene in which all the three regular ὑποκριταί were already occupied. Of this however, which is the case put second by Pollux, he seems not to have known by his own observation a single instance. 'It is said', he writes, 'to have

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from *Classical Review*, Vol. iv. p. 3



occurred in the *Memnon* of Aeschylus', which play he had plainly not seen. His care in marking that he is here speaking at second hand is worthy of notice, and enhances the authority of what he states without such a limitation. The other, the first-mentioned exception, is of a very peculiar kind. It is where, in a scene requiring the simultaneous presence of the three regular actors, there is found another speaker who, being a *choreutes* and speaking in lyric, is not exactly a 'fourth actor', but, as Pollux words it, 'in place of a fourth actor'. For this he refers, as if the case were plain and notorious, to the *Agamemnon*.

It will be seen on reflexion that there is a little difficulty in understanding the nature of this peculiar case. The 'quasi-actor', says Pollux, is 'one of the *choreutae*.' Why then, it might be asked, should not his part be delivered by the ordinary chorus-leader? And why, since the *choreutae* for the purpose of this rule were not counted as 'actors' at all, should this case be regarded as exceptional or noticeable in any way? We shall see the reason presently.

We are not now concerned with the question how far the technical terms *παρακλήμιον* and *παραχορήγημα*, as here used, were either correct in themselves or generally recognized. As Pollux uses them they are in a way correlative, the chorus in the first case supplying something *extra* to the 'stage', the fourth actor in the second case being a sort of addition to the chorus<sup>1</sup>. We however are concerned only with the facts to which the terms are applied.

In order to show the bearing of this testimony on the structure of the *Agamemnon*, I will now set out (1) the *dramatis personae* and distribution of the play as commonly printed, (2) the *dramatis personae* and distribution according to this edition. Those of the MSS. it is scarcely worth while to discuss. Nobody defends or is likely to defend them

(1) *Dramatis personae.*

A Watchman.  
 Chorus of Elders  
 Clytaemnestra.  
 A Herald  
 Agamemnon.  
 Cassandra.  
 Aegisthus.

<sup>1</sup> For a comparison of the various uses of these terms, see Mr Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, note on p. 212, by which note my attention was called to the passage

These characters are distributed in the play as follows :

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Prologue.</i>                    | Watchman.                       |
| 2. <i>Parodos and Stas. 1.</i>         | <i>Chorus.</i>                  |
| 3. <i>Episode 1.</i>                   | { Clytaemnestra.                |
|  | { <i>Chorus.</i>                |
| 4. <i>Stas. 2.</i>                     | <i>Chorus.</i>                  |
| 5. <i>Episode 2.</i>                   | { Herald.                       |
|  | { Clytaemnestra.                |
|  | { <i>Chorus.</i>                |
| 6. <i>Stas. 3.</i>                     | <i>Chorus.</i>                  |
| 7. <i>Episode 3.</i>                   | { Agamemnon.                    |
|  | { Clytaemnestra.                |
|  | { Cassandra (silent).           |
| 8. <i>Stas. 4.</i>                     | <i>Chorus.</i>                  |
| 9. <i>Episode 4.</i>                   | { Clytaemnestra.                |
|  | { Cassandra.                    |
|  | { <i>Chorus.</i>                |
| 10. <i>Interlude (1330—<br/>1370).</i> | { Agamemnon (behind the scenes) |
|  | { <i>Chorus.</i>                |
| 11. <i>Episode 5 and Finale.</i>       | { Clytaemnestra.                |
|  | { Aegisthus.                    |
|  | { <i>Chorus.</i>                |

It will be seen that there is here not the least trace of the 'fourth actor' found in the play by Pollux. Indeed it can scarcely be said that the play absolutely requires three. Very little ingenuity, certainly not more than the ancients employed, as we are told, to preserve their limitations in other places, would be required to allow the mute Cassandra of Episode 3 and the speaking Cassandra of Episode 4 to be taken by different maskers; and except at this point two actors, with the Chorus, could easily perform the whole.

(2) *Dramatis Personae.*

A Watchman.

*Chorus of Elders.*

Clytaemnestra.

A Conspirator, leading the

*Chorus of Conspirators.*

A Herald.

## APPENDIX III.

Agamemnon.  
 Cassandra.  
 Aegisthus.  
 A Soldier of Aegisthus.

By these the different portions of the play are spoken or sung as follows :

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Prologue.</i>              | Watchman   |
| 2. <i>Parodos and Stas. 1.</i>   | Chorus of Elders.  |
| 3. <i>Episode 1.</i>             | { Clytaemnestra<br>Conspirator.<br>Chorus of Elders.<br>Chorus of Conspirators |
| 4. <i>Stas. 2.</i>               | Chorus of Elders   |
| 5. <i>Episode 2.</i>             | { Conspirator.<br>Herald.<br>Clytaemnestra.<br>Chorus of Elders.               |
| 6. <i>Stas. 3.</i>               | Chorus of Elders   |
| 7. <i>Episode 3</i>              | { Agamemnon.<br>Clytaemnestra.<br>Cassandra (silent).                          |
| 8. <i>Stas. 4.</i>               | Chorus of Elders.  |
| 9. <i>Episode 4.</i>             | { Clytaemnestra.<br>Cassandra.<br>Chorus of Elders.                            |
| 10. <i>Interlude.</i>            | { Agamemnon (behind the scenes).<br>Chorus of Elders.                          |
| 11. <i>Episode 5 and Finale.</i> | { Clytaemnestra.<br>Conspirator.<br>Aegisthus.<br>Soldier<br>Chorus of Elders. |

Now if this was the arrangement known to Pollux, we can not only see at once the application of his remark, but can explain it with precision down to the minutest peculiarity. The greater part of the play, all but the last scene, can be performed by the regular three actors. But in the last scene there is a small fourth part, which answers exactly to the description of the ancient scholar. The scene

consists of two sections, (1) a dialogue, partly λόγος but chiefly lyric, conducted mainly by Clytaemnestra and the Coryphaeus (1371—1576), and (2) the finale, in iambic and trochaic λόγος, mainly conducted by Aegisthus, Clytaemnestra, and the Coryphaeus. These two sections are perfectly continuous. There is no interval between them, and no legitimate opportunity for an exit. Now from the evidence of the text it appeared to me that in the finale one of the soldiers accompanying Aegisthus must have spoken twice, on each occasion one trochaic verse (1650 and 1653), and also that in the preceding lyric dialogue, at 1522, the words

οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον οἶμαι θάνατον  
τῷδε γενέσθαι,—

which are usually struck out as inexplicable, must have been spoken by a partizan of Clytaemnestra, that is to say, by the Conspirator. I did not observe, what I ought no doubt to have observed, that, as it would hardly be practicable for the performer here taking the person of the Conspirator to quit the scene before the entrance of Aegisthus and his troop, I had thus made, to this small extent, a demand for a *fourth actor*. But all the more striking, I think, is the undesigned coincidence between the independent inference and the statement of Pollux.

For the parts of the dialogue were commonly assumed to be distributed among the actors in the order of their importance. In the *Agamemnon* the protagonist would of course play Clytaemnestra in the last scene as throughout. The deuteragonist would take Aegisthus. Of the two remaining parts, the Soldier, not the Conspirator, would be given to the regular tritagonist, as having two speeches to make instead of only one, and also as occurring in common dialogue (λόγος). We should therefore naturally hold, as Pollux and his authorities held, that the speech of the Conspirator (1522—1523) must be regarded as the exceptional *fourth part*. It is in lyric metre (anapaests), not in the metre of the ordinary dialogue; and so it is described by Pollux. And, most remarkable of all, it is spoken by a person whose ambiguous character, between *choreutes* and actor, makes the peculiar language of his description quite simple and natural. The Conspirator is 'one of the *choreutae*'. He stands to the secondary chorus (see *vv.* 363 foll.) in the same relation as that of the regular Coryphaeus to the regular chorus, and in fact in my text I have, upon this analogy, marked his parts (as well as the one song of the sub-chorus) by the sign XO. β'. On the other hand he is no member of the regular chorus but, in the common technical sense, a ὑποκριτής. When therefore, as at this place, he recites

anapaests in a scene otherwise requiring the simultaneous presence of three speakers (in addition to the regular chorus), he is what Pollux calls him, 'one of the *choreutae* speaking in lyric in place of a fourth actor'.

I cannot but think that this absolute agreement between an inference drawn from mss. of the fourteenth century and a statement dating from the second not only substantiates the inference, but also strongly fortifies the authority of our traditional text. The makers of our mss. had, it is needless to say, not a notion of illustrating the observation of Pollux. The words to which his note refers are in the mss. tacked, in defiance of grammar, to the following speech of Clytaemnestra, while in modern texts, as I have already said, they are desperately struck out. Yet there they stand in the *Codex Florentinus*, as they must have stood in the Aeschylus of Pollux, having survived the copyists of more than a millennium, to illustrate and justify the true tradition.

What, it may be asked, have we done with the testimony of Pollux so long as we have endeavoured to distribute the *Agamemnon* so as to accord with the Byzantine story? It has been set aside. The copyist of Pollux, it is said, introduced the reference to the *Agamemnon* by error, because a few lines after came a reference, quite differently worded, to the *Memnon*. There is no one who will not gladly be relieved of the supposed necessity for such a hypothesis as this.



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## ADDENDUM.

In *v.* 714 the point of *αἰνόλεκτρον* may turn most simply upon the two possible meanings of the word, (1) *whose marriage is a glory* (*αἰνος*) and (2) *whose marriage is horrible* (*αἰνός*). Troy, *μεταμανθάνουσα θμνον*, will now apply the second. This however would not exclude a reference to *Ἀλέξανδρος*.











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